

187
INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM: BUENOS AIRES,
PANAMA AND LONDON

Y 4.F 76/1:T 27/6

International Terrorism: Buenos Air...

JOINT HEARING
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEES ON
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, INTERNATIONAL
ORGANIZATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS
AND
THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
ONE HUNDRED THIRD CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

AUGUST 1, 1994

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Affairs

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OF THE SENATE



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CONTENTS

WITNESSES

Hon. Raul Enrique Granillo Ocampo, Ambassador of Argentina	Page 4
Steven Emerson, specialist on international terrorism and radical fundamentalism and author	11
Ruben Beraja, president, Delegation of Argentine Jewish Associations (DAIA)	15
Barbara A. Bodine, Coordinator for Counterterrorism, Department of State	27

APPENDIX

Prepared statements:	
Hon. Tom Lantos	39
Ambassador Raul Granillo Ocampo	40
Steven Emerson	60
Dr. Ruben Beraja	75
Ms. Barbara A. Bodine	
Hon. Gary Ackerman	80
The Inter-Parliamentary Council Against Anti-Semitism	84
United Kingdom on Buenos Aires/London bombings	86
Speech delivered by Dr. Ruben Beraja on July 21, 1994 at a public rally held in Buenos Aires	92
Rabbi Avi Weis, prepared statement	94

INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM: BUENOS AIRES, PANAMA AND LONDON

MONDAY, AUGUST 1, 1994

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, INTER-
NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS, JOINT
WITH THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE WESTERN HEMI-
SPHERE,

Washington, DC.

The subcommittees met, pursuant to call, at 10:07 a.m. in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Tom Lantos (Subcommittee on International Security, International Organizations and Human Rights) presiding.

Mr. LANTOS. The subcommittee on International Security, International Organizations and Human Rights and the Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere will be in order.

Today the subcommittees will focus their attention on international terrorism in the aftermath of the recent outbreak of terrorist bombings in Buenos Aires, London, and Panama.

On the surface, these terrorist bombings appear to be new attacks against Israeli and Jewish targets. The bomb in Buenos Aires was directed against the Jewish Community Center and it was strikingly similar to a bombing against the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires just 2 years ago.

The two bombs in London were directed against the Israeli Embassy and against a Jewish Community Center there. In reality, however, we are facing a new and violent upsurge in a much broader, more insidious and dangerous war against civilized societies, against democracy and pluralism, against the West.

Just a year-and-a-half ago, one of the first series of hearings I conducted as chairman of this subcommittee was on the bombing of the World Trade Center in New York. That terrorist attack resulted in the death of several people, injury to hundreds, and property damage at astronomical levels.

Last Thursday in this room, the subcommittee held yet another hearing on the terrorist attack against an American aircraft, Pan Am flight 103, which exploded over Lockerbie, Scotland almost 6 years ago. That terrorist atrocity resulted in the death of over 250 innocent people, including 189 American citizens, Catholics, Protestants, and Jews.

In this morning's *New York Times*, an article, "Iran Wages Fierce Campaign Against Its Christian Minority", has the following to say:

"The Islamic Government of Iran, which has often been criticized by human rights groups for its treatment of religious minorities, is mounting the fiercest campaign since the 1979 revolution against the small Christian minority here, church leaders and Western diplomats say.

"Three Christian leaders have been killed since the beginning of the year. Churches have been shot down, scores of young Christians, many converts from Islam have been imprisoned and tortured, especially in the cities of Gorgan and Kermanshah, church officials say. And pastors have been expelled from parishes or are under surveillance.

"Even by the standards of Iran, the current crackdown is extraordinary, says a senior Western diplomat in Tehran.

"In a population of roughly 62 million people," says the *New York Times* article, "Iran's religious minorities include 3½ million Sunni Muslims, 350,000 followers of the Bahai faith, 80,000 Christians, and 30,000 Jews. The Bahais have seen over 200 of their followers executed since the revolution. Tens of thousands of Christians, as well as Jews and Bahais, have fled Iran in the last 15 years. A senior Western diplomat says evangelical groups appear slated for eradication.

"The Assemblies of God Church, which has 8,000 members in Iran, is the most active in the evangelical movement and is the main target of the crackdown. A lot of young Iranians, embittered by the austerity and control imposed by these Islamic clerics, seek conversion as one of the most potent forms of protest.

"Church leaders say Iranian officials forced them a few days ago to ask a delegation of Western clergymen not to come to Iran to investigate the death of Christian leaders. The delegation had been invited by the government. One of those killed was Mehdi Dibaj, an Assemblies of God leader who was imprisoned for 9 years and sentenced to death for apostasy. He was freed in January, but disappeared in June. On July 3, the police delivered his mutilated body to his family.

"Another was Bishop Haik Hovsepian Mehr, head of the Evangelical Council of Pastors in Iran who had campaigned relentlessly for Mr. Dibaj's release from prison. He disappeared 3 days after Mr. Dibaj was freed, and 11 days later his body, covered with stab wounds, was turned over to his family.

"On June 29, the Reverend Tatavous Mikaelian, a prominent Presbyterian minister who succeeded the bishop as head of the council, disappeared. His bullet-riddled corpse was turned over to his son on July 2 by the police." It would be naive indeed not to make a connection of all these events.

The collapse of the Soviet empire, which represented a global military threat to the civilized world, has now left the United States in a position that there is no military force today that can defeat us on the battlefield. But pain and suffering and chaos can be inflicted on the United States and on the civilized world by terrorists on the streets of our cities, in our airports, and on our aircraft.

And the horror and destruction that we have already seen are only a small part of what we could see in the future. Just a few weeks ago in this hearing room, the subcommittee heard from the

Director of Central Intelligence, James Woolsey. He testified of the potential danger of Soviet nuclear weapons falling into the hands of terrorists.

Clearly the kind of people who bombed Pan Am 103, who bombed the World Trade Center, and who carried out the series of bombings of the last few weeks are capable of seeking and using nuclear weapons, as well as weapons of a chemical and biological nature.

While we don't have total information as yet about the specific individuals and groups who perpetrated some of the latest terrorist incidents in Buenos Aires, Panama and London, we do have a very clear picture of the leaders and of the countries that are behind these and similar incidents.

These latest bombings have the clear imprint of Iran and its ally, Hizballah, the radical Muslim organization in Lebanon. But others have also been involved in past terrorist activities and may be involved in these, including Libya, Syria, Iraq, and North Korea.

At the same time, irresponsible Western commercial interests are hell bent on providing the most dangerous ingredients of weapons of mass destruction to rogue regimes. They are stumbling all over themselves to sell these dangerous products to make a profit, irrespective of what this means to civilized society.

These latest terrorist attacks must be a wake-up call to the entire civilized world—a call to awareness of the real and serious dangers to our lives, to our way of thinking, to our civilization. We must give serious and urgent attention to this wave of attacks against the West, rather than to side shows and morbid entertainment, like the O.J. Simpson affair, that currently seem to fill our awareness and receive the bulk of our news Media's attention.

It is for reasons of focusing attention and taking action that the incoming Republican leader, Congressman Newt Gingrich and I, are introducing a bipartisan resolution calling on the President of the United States to convene at the summit level an action-oriented conference on international terrorism.

It is essential that we give the greatest attention to this issue so that Tehran, the leaders of Hizballah in the Bekaa Valley of Lebanon, and the leaders of other rogue regimes which sponsor or shelter terrorism will know that the West is prepared to defend itself against terrorism, no less than it was ready and prepared to defend itself against the Soviet Union.

This hearing has been prepared by a number of Democratic and Republican staff members and I want to acknowledge them. First, Andrea Nelson, Beth Poisson, Ted Hirsch, Jo Weber, John Peterson, Christoff Laubry, Jamie King, and our staff director, Dr. Robert King. And, on the Republican side, Mike Ennis.

I will place in the record, without objection, a statement submitted by the Government of the United Kingdom and a variety of other statements. The record will remain open for the submission of appropriate additional testimony.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Lantos appears in the appendix.]

Mr. LANTOS. We will begin this morning's hearing with His Excellency, Raul Enrique Granillo Ocampo, the distinguished Ambassador of Argentina, who will read a statement on behalf of the Foreign Minister and President of Argentina. We are very pleased to have you, Mr. Ambassador, and your associates.

You may proceed any way you choose.

**STATEMENT OF HON. RAUL ENRIQUE GRANILLO OCAMPO,
AMBASSADOR OF ARGENTINA**

Ambassador OCAMPO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am honored to be here this morning in response to your invitation to the Government of Argentina to make a statement on the recent bombing in Buenos Aires of the headquarters of the Argentine Israeli Mutual Aid Association and the Delegation of Argentine Israeli Association (DAIA).

My statement will be offered in the spirit of international cooperation against terrorism already established between our two governments.

In a few minutes, your Subcommittees on International Security, International Organizations and Human Rights and on the Western Hemisphere will conduct a joint hearing to examine recent international terrorist attacks on Israeli and Jewish institutions around the world, including the one carried out exactly a fortnight ago in Argentina.

Your witnesses' comments and your subcommittees' reports will be of great interest to my government and also underline the truly international response terrorists will confront in their criminal acts.

Regarding what occurred in Argentina and how it might relate to other similar attacks, let me first recall that on Monday, July 18 at 9:57 a.m., Buenos Aires, capital and major city of Argentina, was struck by international terrorism. The AMIA/DAIA bombing has been considered the most important terrorist incident in Argentine history and the most serious attack on the Jewish community anywhere in the world since World War II, leaving 82 people dead, 227 injured, and 15 missing. Amongst them we count the police detachment on duty at the building.

Mr. LANTOS. If I may interrupt you, Mr. Ambassador, you are stating that this is the most significant terrorist episode in the history of Argentina?

Ambassador OCAMPO. Yes.

Mr. LANTOS. And the most significant attack on a Jewish community anywhere in the world since the Holocaust of the Second World War?

Ambassador OCAMPO. Yes. This is how we are affected. This act of violence also destroyed AMIA's traditional seven-story building and the many documents it contained bearing testimony to more than a century of Jewish life in Argentina. It also seriously damaged the neighborhood.

Initial evaluations indicate that a van carrying a directional charge hit the front of the concrete and brick building. As it collapsed, the rest of the structure fell with it. The fact that the foundations remained in place proves that the explosion came from outside the building.

The exact size of the charge is difficult to determine. Even a relatively small one would have caused the building to fall. However, evaluation of collateral damage has allowed experts to determine that no less than 660 pounds of explosives were used. Damage to

adjacent buildings confirmed this, just as the shrapnel dispersal pattern confirmed use of a car bomb.

Mr. LANTOS. If I may again stop you for a second, Mr. Ambassador.

Ambassador OCAMPO. Yes.

Mr. LANTOS. My information is that this basically can be characterized as a suicide bombing attack. Is that the conclusion of the Argentine Government at this stage?

Ambassador OCAMPO. We have exactly the same conclusion, yes.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you.

Ambassador OCAMPO. These were the second such bombing attacks in Argentine. At 2:40 p.m. on March 17, 1992, the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires was destroyed. Although one was directed against the mission of a foreign government and the other against an Argentine institution, both bombings were most probably inspired by political motivations originated in the Middle East.

The embassy building collapsed, burying diplomatic personnel and visitors inside the premises and leaving, at final count, 28 dead and 252 injured.

A car bomb with an estimated 1,320 pounds of explosives was used. The pickup truck's wreckage was crucial in contributing to the early stages of the investigation.

From Lebanon, the Hizballah terrorist organization claimed responsibility for this bombing, offering as proof of its involvement an intelligence video it had made of the embassy prior to the attack.

Mr. LANTOS. If I may stop you again.

Ambassador OCAMPO. Yes.

Mr. LANTOS. This bombing which occurred over 2 years ago—

Ambassador OCAMPO. Yes.

Mr. LANTOS [continuing]. Was a terrorist attack for which the Hizballah terrorist organization claimed responsibility. Is it the conclusion of the Government of Argentina that, in fact, Hizballah committed that terrorist attack?

Ambassador OCAMPO. Yes. We believe that this organization claimed responsibility. They are doing this, and are claiming responsibility.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you, Mr. Ambassador.

Ambassador OCAMPO. International cooperation was immediately established for the investigation of the embassy bombing. The United States and Israel were particularly active in this respect. Nevertheless, our joint investigative efforts have yet to produce final results. Actually, international experience shows that finding those responsible for terrorist actions is not a quick or easy matter.

For example, the December 1988 Pan Am flight 103 tragedy over Lockerbie was only resolved toward the end of 1991. A similar period was required in the case of the French UTA DC-10 bombing of 1989 which was not attributed to Libyans until 1991. Terrorist attempts in France during 1985 and 1986 were finally found in 1990 to be the responsibility of Shi'ite fundamentalists. In other cases, it proved impossible to identify those responsible for terrorist acts despite intense investigative efforts.

Despite the delays, our resolve to investigate these criminal acts and discover those responsible for them will not diminish.

The AMIA building had been a point of reference for generations of Argentines who valued the role played by Jews in our history and in forming our way of life.

The Jewish community is an integral part of our nation of immigrants, where people of different origins share similar values and common goals. Thus, the AMIA bombing aroused deep feelings of sorrow and anger in Argentina. Indignation mounted as media reports brought home its magnitude.

My government immediately and strongly condemned this criminal act and considered it an affront to the nation, the Jewish community, and civilized society as a whole. Three national days of mourning were followed by a joint meeting of the Congress to which all political parties, several national institutions, and Jewish organizations were invited.

Congressional committees in Argentina are holding hearings to achieve insight on the matter. Last week, the Foreign Minister explained the situation from the foreign policy point of view. The Minister of Interior is expected to appear before them in the next few days.

At a more popular level, I can think of no better expression of public sentiment toward the bombing than the 150,000 people who gathered in the street of Buenos Aires in a mass demonstration to condemn the attack.

My government has reacted vigorously in pursuit of those responsible and in relief of the victims and their families. Borders were ordered closed by the President on the day of the bombing. Reinforced immigration controls allowed certain individuals to be detained. Since the attack, routine police protection to Jewish schools, synagogues, and other institutions has been significantly increased.

Federal Judge Juan Jose Galeano is in charge of the criminal investigation and has been working with the administration and security forces to capture those responsible. In the context of his investigation, Judge Galeano traveled to Venezuela to receive statements from the Iranian citizen who was said to possess information.

In the diplomatic field, and in order to receive firsthand reports, our Ambassadors in Beirut and Tehran have been called to Buenos Aires. We have also requested information from the Lebanese and the Iranian Governments regarding Hizballah sponsored organizations that can be found in those countries. More specifically, the Iranian Ambassador in Argentina has been called several times in the last few days to meet with foreign ministry officials.

A special committee has also been established, linking the police with Jewish institutions in order to maintain permanent contact with them and with the neighborhood damaged by the bomb.

Government officials have made themselves available to Israeli envoys and Argentine and foreign Jewish organizations, whose representatives went to Buenos Aires to offer support and gather information. Meetings with the President and members of his cabinet took place in this context.

During their meetings, President Menem recalled his statements on the attack, the openness and solidarity of the Argentine people and his own determination to identify and punish those respon-

sible. He also announced that financial assistance will be extended to the families of the victims and that a request for aid in rebuilding the AMIA/DAIA headquarters would receive favorable consideration. Here in the United States, my embassy and all our consulates have been in constant contact with the many individuals and American Jewish organizations that came forward at this moment.

Notwithstanding the generalized conviction that the motives and inspiration for the bombing are related to the Middle East, reputed existence of anti-Semitism in Argentina has been mentioned in its regard. If anything, the bombing has inspired Argentina to close ranks once again with its Jewish community.

In fact, a survey conducted by the American Jewish Committee and the Delegation of Argentine Israeli Associations shows a considerable tendency toward ethnic, religious, and cultural pluralism in Argentine society. It also indicates that on the whole, there is a positive orientation toward Jews and significant tolerance in accepting the various ethnic and religious groups that make up the country.

It demonstrates further that markedly discriminatory attitudes toward Jews and others are not found in the areas of social and familial interaction. It also shows that 69 percent of Argentines polled preferred to live in a multiracial, culturally diverse, and religiously free society.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Ambassador, although these are encouraging statements, you would nevertheless agree, would you not, that there are two particular elements within Argentina that may have led to the selection of Argentina as the second such major international terrorist attack in the hemisphere.

The first one is the presence of a very significant pro-Nazi element or descendants of the pro-Nazi element that have been given safe haven in Argentina following the Second World War. And, the second is the presence of a very large radical Shi'ite population living within Argentina.

International terrorists, to a very large extent, have to depend on an internal supportive infrastructure; and in the case of Argentina, unfortunately both of these elements, extreme right-wing former Nazi groups as well as radical Shi'ite groups, are present which makes an international terrorist attack all the more easy because there is an internal domestic infrastructure.

Would you agree with that?

Ambassador OCAMPO. No, I don't agree with you. We don't have the same viewpoint. We believe that there is minuscule groups of people who follow these Nazi feelings and these Nazi politics.

Mr. LANTOS. It is a small group?

Ambassador OCAMPO. Yes, and I believe this group in Argentina is smaller than the group that exists in any country, also in your country, and I believe we don't have Shi'ite meeting in Argentina. Maybe it would be an undercore, but again, they are really a minuscule group and we don't believe that it is a clear and fair characterization to say that this group has influenced us in Argentina.

Mr. LANTOS. Please.

Ambassador OCAMPO. To those who suggested that an appropriate response to terrorism can be found in setting aside the law,

I must answer emphatically that our recent history has shown us in an unfortunate way that violence only generates more violence.

The establishment of democracy in Argentina over a decade ago also brought about the replacement of a repressive security apparatus by an intelligence community imbued with the concept of the rule of law. Countries such as mine, which enjoy democratic institutions and governments concerned with the well-being of their people will continue to respect legal procedures in their persecution of violent terrorist acts.

My government is committed to securing its people's desire to preserve freedom, tolerance, and democracy. At the same time, it will not rest until those responsible for the bombings are brought to justice.

The day following the attack in Argentina, a plane carrying numerous Jewish passengers blew up in flight over Panama. A few days later, bombs destroyed the Israeli Embassy in London and were set off in front of a building housing British Jewish institutions.

During his recent visit to Washington, the Prime Minister of Israel, Yitzhak Rabin, said in a White House news conference that it was reasonable to assume that terrorist bombings of Jewish targets in Buenos Aires and London were the work of Muslim extremists. In another interview he added the Islamic terrorist movements are determined to undermine the Arab-Israeli peace process. He added that the world was facing a wave of extreme Islamic radical terrorist movements with infrastructure all over the world.

King Hussein of Jordan also denounced the people behind these attacks, calling them enemies of hope, enemies of what should be normal among people.

A member of the Israeli Parliament considered that the attack against AMIA/DAIA was apparently a retaliation for Israel's bombing of a Hizballah training base last June 2 and its kidnapping of a Shi'ite Muslim leader in Lebanon on May 21.

Both Mr. Rabin and Mr. Arafat have separately mentioned that the Lebanese Hizballah is behind the AMIA/DAIA bombing.

My country's renewed participation in multilateral efforts to respond to situations that threaten international peace and security has been perceived as exposing it to a higher level of terrorist aggression. However, our foreign policy will not be altered. Argentina will continue to be positively involved in world affairs and United Nations' peacekeeping operations.

My government considers that the world is now encountering a new dimension of terrorism with increased levels of sophistication, and that our ability to anticipate its attacks must be enhanced.

In order to better deal with the international dimension of terrorism, Argentine intelligence agencies have increased cooperation with those of other friendly nations.

Mr. LANTOS. May I stop you there for a minute, Mr. Ambassador?

Ambassador OCAMPO. Yes.

Mr. LANTOS. Have you received full cooperation from the appropriate agencies and authorities of the U.S. Government in pursuing this matter?

Ambassador OCAMPO. Yes. We received and we are receiving a very broad and very kind cooperation, and also they agree with the perception we are using in this speech or this remark.

Mr. LANTOS. How about the degree of cooperation between the appropriate Argentinian authorities and the parallel authorities of the Government of Israel?

Ambassador OCAMPO. I cannot say exactly the same. We are receiving a very broad and very kindly cooperation.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you.

Ambassador OCAMPO. Let me take a moment to recall that in 1983, the U.S. Congress authorized the Anti-Terrorism Assistance Program, a major initiative to fight international terrorism. American assistance has since been extended to Argentina for the training of government law enforcement officers.

Immediately after the bombing, we received further offers of cooperation from the U.S. Government, which I was instructed to accept. Technical details of this offer have been worked out directly between the Argentine and American agencies involved.

Additionally, 24 hours after the explosion, a specialized Israeli rescue team arrived in Buenos Aires to help in the search for survivors. Further cooperation between the intelligence agencies of Argentine, Israel, the United States, and other nations was also quickly established. Thus, results from the investigation will also come from an international effort that is contributing to build the Argentina prosecutor's case.

After the bombing, many nations came forward with a statement rejecting the cruel attack against the AMIA/DAIA building.

President Clinton was among the first to react. He called it cowardly and said that this terrible loss of innocent lives must not deter civilized society from opposing the enemies of peace.

Responding to an Argentine request for an extraordinary meeting, the Permanent Council of the Organization of American States issued a declaration on July 19 stating its strongest condemnation of this attack on the Jewish community in Argentina which is also an affront to the entire nation and the consciences of the people of the Americas.

Argentina also requested and obtained a meeting of the U.N. Security Council in order to report on the situation. Last Friday, July 29, our Foreign Minister went to the U.N. to describe the attack and make a specific proposal regarding the scope of diplomatic immunity and the need for U.N. Security Council consideration of concrete measures to counter international terrorism.

Mr. LANTOS. If I may stop you here concerning your observation about diplomatic immunity; are you suggesting, as has been suggested by others, that Iranian diplomatic establishments abroad are used as terrorist bases?

Ambassador OCAMPO. We don't have a definite proof of this involvement, but we have a lot of clues that connected us to this conclusion, but we are not going to take any kind of position if we don't have the necessary proof.

Mr. LANTOS. So what you are suggesting is that you have a lot of information—

Ambassador OCAMPO. Yes.

Mr. LANTOS [continuing]. Of Iranian diplomatic officials being involved, but you are not yet at a stage where you are ready to take action?

Ambassador OCAMPO. You are very clear in my idea, yes.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you, Mr. Ambassador.

Ambassador OCAMPO. He also stated that although we presume that it received support from marginal groups within Argentina, the origin of and responsibility for the bombing is to be found beyond Argentina's borders.

With regards to the Israeli Embassy bombing in 1992, the Foreign Minister recalled that on May 28, the spiritual leader of Hizballah declared that Muslim fighters have reached Argentina and that, therefore, we cannot exclude that this organization is also behind the AMIA/DAIA bombing.

Finally, he added that although we all know who they are, we cannot yet officially affirm that other countries are behind the bombing.

The presentation of the Argentine Foreign Minister to the U.N. Security Council was based on the General Assembly's Resolution 44/122 of December 12, 1993, which condemns terrorism and its methods and urges the international community to cooperate in the struggle against the threat of national, regional, and international terrorism.

On the afternoon of the same day, and also at Argentina's request, a second extraordinary meeting of the OAS Permanent Council heard a further statement by the Argentine Foreign Minister. In it, he urged the OAS and its members to undertake concerted actions against terrorism.

After debating, the Permanent Council of the OAS issued a declaration expressing its appreciation for additional information provided by the Foreign Minister on the bombing and on investigative efforts to clarify this atrocity. At the same time, the Permanent Council reiterated its declaration of July 19.

Mr. Chairman, today we are waging a war against irrational violence. This struggle is not between Argentina and some terrorist group, but between the international community and worldwide terrorism, between those who love peace and those who pursue spurious objectives without regard to the cost in human lives. We must come together to fight this common enemy.

Therefore, I wish to take this opportunity to call upon your subcommittees to continue their work in this regard. I would also like to suggest that the U.S. Congress extend its support to initiatives directed toward the enhancement of international cooperation in the struggle against terrorism.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you very much, Mr. Ambassador.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Ocampo appears in the appendix.]

Mr. LANTOS. With respect to your last point, let me just express my strong agreement with it. It is in the spirit of implementing your last observation that the Republican whip, Mr. Gingrich and I are moving on our resolution urging on the President to convene at the summit level an action-oriented conference on international terrorism.

Before thanking you and your associates, I wonder if my distinguished colleague from Kansas has any observations to make.

Mrs. MEYERS. Mr. Chairman, just briefly, I would like to agree with the Ambassador in his statement. We are all appalled and deeply concerned about the activities in your country, and I joined with the chairman last year in a resolution of condemnation and will do so again this year, and I was pleased to hear your statement that our Government has done everything that we can to assist, and I am sure that we will continue in that regard.

I do have one question, if I may, Mr. Chairman. When you stated in your statement that you knew who the people were, but that you didn't have sufficient proof yet to move, does this mean not only those who came from out of country, but those within country, you know who they are, but you don't have proof?

Ambassador OCAMPO. We were talking about the philosophy of the people who are behind this kind of attack. We are not talking about the material, the personnel who were conducting the attack.

Mrs. MEYERS. I see.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Ambassador, I want to thank both you, your two distinguished associates, the Under Secretary for Foreign Policy and the Director of North American Affairs for appearing before us.

We want to ask you to convey to the Foreign Minister and to the President our appreciation and our determination to continue to work with Argentina in solving this despicable terrorist attack and in strengthening the network of antiterrorist capabilities of our respective governments. We appreciate your presence.

Ambassador OCAMPO. Thank you.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you very much, gentlemen.

Our next witnesses are Steve Emerson, internationally recognized authority on terrorism and radical fundamentalism, and Mr. Ruben Beraja, president, the Argentina Jewish Community. We are happy to have the two of you gentlemen at the table.

Mr. Emerson, we will begin with you. You have remarkable credentials and experience in the global struggle against international terrorism. We appreciate your appearance. Your prepared statement will be entered in the record in its entirety. You may proceed any way you choose.

STATEMENT OF STEVEN EMERSON, SPECIALIST ON INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM AND RADICAL FUNDAMENTALISM AND AUTHOR

Mr. EMERSON. Good morning. I shall offer an abbreviated version of the statement right now, and the record will reflect the full statement.

I think it is quite appropriate and commendable that you are holding this hearing this morning regarding the bombings in the last 2 weeks. The American public needs to understand that although the bombings took place thousands of miles away and the victims were foreigners, the next time we could be the target. Although the media has devoted far less attention to this carnage than it did to similar acts of religious fanatical acts of violence earlier this year in the Middle East, the attacks in Argentina and London were no less horrific.

I believe the American public and the American policymakers must begin to understand the depth of the new problem facing the world. As you noted in your own opening statement, the bombings were not simply an attempt by the enemies of peace to derail the peace process, as several senior U.S. officials said last week, nor were they simply the return, "of Middle Eastern terrorism to London," as a senior British law enforcement official said. Rather, the bombings are part of an escalating worldwide battle between radical Islamic militants and the West. The perpetrators of these bombings are not motivated by what we know as, "legitimate grievances".

Radical Islamic militants see the very existence of pro-Western nations, such as Israel and Egypt, or pluralistic systems, such as democracy, or rival religions, such as Judaism and Christianity or even moderate Muslims as a mortal threat to their own being. These militants see the continuation of 1,000-year conspiracy waged by the infidel to subjugate Islam. In this perspective, the West's publication of Salman Rushdie's book and the 1991 Persian Gulf war are only extensions of the crusader's assault on Islam.

The terrorism of the 1970's, largely attributable to Palestinian organizations, ultimately dissipated because of the secular nature of the PLO's demands and its willingness to compromise on its goals to destroy Israel. Today, Yassar Arafat is either unwilling or unable to stop other Palestinian terrorists, but at least he has put an end to most Fatah terrorism.

Radical Islamic militants are not susceptible to the same rational persuasion. They see any accord that accepts the legitimacy of a Jewish state or the existence of pro-American regimes in Egypt or Jordan as intrinsically offensive. To these groups, there can be no compromise. It is a duel to the death with the infidels and the heretics.

This war is without borders. Unlike the peaceful version of Jihad, these militants see and practice Jihad only as a holy war. Becoming a martyr in the cause of Jihad is just as good as killing in the cause of Jihad. In this new clash between militant Islam and its enemies, political reconciliation is inherently impossible.

In Europe, Hizballah-Iran assassination squads have murdered scores of dissidents. In Thailand earlier this year, the Israeli Embassy narrowly missed being blown up. In Bangladesh, a female writer has recently been subject to a death threat, the equivalent of what was issued to Salman Rushdie.

In Canada, various terrorists belonging to Hizballah and the black Muslim group Al-Fuqra have been convicted; and even in Chicago earlier this year, several Jewish institutions were torched by Palestinian youths who apparently were part of a larger Hamas community.

Despite attempts by some in this country to paper over the differences between radical Islam and the West, the fact remains that radical Islamic leaders see the West as part of a major conspiracy to wipe out Islam. In this context, Israel is the Little Satan and the United States is the Great Satan.

Attacks on targets like the World Trade Center last year or in Buenos Aires 2 weeks ago are justified, even mandated as part of the holy war against the infidels. For those perpetrating such at-

tacks, they may indeed be motivated by distinct events, but the larger local support network needed to carry out such terrorism could only arise because of the widespread acceptance of radical anti-Western precepts.

I want to make very clear that at the outset, it is important to point out that the overwhelming majority of the nearly 1 billion Muslims in the world today do not support such concepts of Jihad or violence.

Those that support violence are only a very small minority and totally unrepresentative of the larger Muslim community, and as King Hussein of Jordan said the other day at press conference at the White House, the bombings in Argentina had nothing to do with Islam.

In a theological sense, he is absolutely right. Terrorism has nothing to do with mainstream Islam. Islam is an incredibly rich and peaceful religion that has given the world a wonderful legacy. But in the last half of the 20th century, in particular, the last 20 years, militancy and violence has everything to do with the rise of radical Islamic fundamentalism.

It would be the height of recklessness and naivete to deny that which has become a reality. In recent years radical Islamic movements, for a variety of reasons, have proliferated not just throughout the Middle East, but globally.

These radical extremists have been able to set up a vast institutional network of supporters throughout the world, and in the United States as well, where they have amassed money and weapons, established recruitment centers, and have even established command and control facilities.

In the United States, for example, the Gama'a Islamiya, Hizballah, Hamas, and Islamic Jihad, to name a few, have established elaborate support systems. The same goes, in varying degrees, for Canada, Germany, France, Great Britain, Argentina, and elsewhere.

According to Israeli and American intelligence, there is very little doubt that Iran was the major party behind the Argentinian bombing. In the past week, I note, Hizballah and Iran have gone to extraordinary lengths to publicly deny any involvement, but these denials are the very hallmark of Iranian Hizballah tactics.

Iran and Hizballah have publicly denied any connection to the American hostages held in Lebanon, to the bombing of the Marine barracks or the bombing of the U.S. Embassy in the mid-1980's. Hizballah is very tightly compartmented. It is organized along family tribal or village lines. This ensures that foreign infiltration is impossible. It also ensures that the culpability is limited.

During the 1980's, there were more than 25 names of different groups in Lebanon to claim credit for taking American hostages, all were found to be part of the umbrella group called Hizballah. By selecting Buenos Aires twice in 2 years, this also ensured that everyone would know that Iran and Hizballah were behind the bombing while still enabling Iran and Hizballah to fiercely deny any connection.

Like the United States, Argentina was deemed a special target of recruitment because of the presence of so many Muslim immigrants. In the 1980's, Iran intensified its worldwide outreach pro-

gram and began providing money and sending Iranian clerics to foreign Islamic communities.

The significance Buenos Aires was accorded by Iran was indicated by the fact, as pointed out by the Islamic scholar Khalid Duran, that Iran sent Ayatollah Rabbanni, 1 of only 40 ayatollahs, to serve as the leader of a Shiite mosque in Buenos Aires in the mid-1980's. There have been other trips by Iranian and Afghan Jihad leaders to Buenos Aires, as there have been to the United States.

Iran collaborates with other radical movements such as the Palestinian Islamic Jihad and Hamas. Last week, Secretary of State Warren Christopher told this body that Hizballah and Iran must be contained. He articulated a criticism of those countries that continue to engage in commercial trade relations with Iran. But isolating Iran is simply not enough.

Hizballah today operates under the full protection of Syria. In fact, all of the Hizballah main training bases are located in the Bekaa Valley under the total sovereignty of Syria. Much of Hizballah's weaponry are sent through Damascus by air and then truck convoys through Syrian military lines.

Syria uses Hizballah to attack Israeli targets in the South as an appendage of its foreign policy. It believes such attacks place pressure on Israel while giving Syria plausible deniability that it is involved in terror. This charade works because the West goes along with it.

Ironically, Lebanon today still operates with total complicity of Syria even though the United States is trying to entice Syria into the peace talks. I will not prescribe this morning dilemmas regarding U.S. policy options. I believe there is a dilemma, but I also believe that as a price for participation in the peace talks, Syria should be asked to finally close down its support for international terror groups.

There is another irony. The United States itself today is a place where many of these radical groups have located themselves. According to law enforcement and intelligence officials, most Middle East terror organizations and radical Islamic groups have established an extensive presence and in some cases their actual political headquarters right here in the United States.

For the most part, these groups have not carried out terrorist attacks on American soil with the exception last year of the attack on the World Trade Center. However, we are becoming fast beyond the point when we can count on such rational self-calculations.

Some Western security officials with whom I have recently spoken believe that the bombing of Jewish and Israeli targets in London and Buenos Aires can be contained to Jewish and Israeli targets. Not only is such a distinction invidious, it is only a matter of time before the anti-Western ideology driving these attacks escalates into further attacks on non-Middle East targets.

The notion that peace in the Middle East will assuage radical Islamic groups or that some form of Western reconciliation is possible with radical groups is woefully mistaken.

Hizballah and Iran's argument with Israel is not over specific Israeli acts. Contrary to a point raised last week by a distinguished columnist in the *New York Times*, the terrorist causes of the bomb-

ings in Argentina and England cannot be rationally solved anymore than the death threats against Salman Rushdie can be revolved by appeasing the radical fundamentalists making the threat.

These bombings should finally force the West to wake up to the new battle front that it is facing—an era of unalterable, violent, anti-Western, anti-Jewish, anti-Christian, and antimoderate Muslim rage. Coupled with the bombing of the World Trade Center last year, these bombings show that radical Islamic militants have now taken their battle from their homelands into the heart of enemy territory, the West.

In short, it will require concerted action by all countries to coordinate their intelligence systems, asylum, security procedures and immigration policies to protect civilians from increasingly becoming the new front line in the unfolding wave of terrorism.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Emerson appears in the appendix.]

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you very much, Mr. Emerson.

We will have a number of questions as soon as we hear from our other distinguished witness.

Before calling on you, Mr. Beraja, on behalf of the Congress of the United States, I want to express our profound condolences and sympathies and anguish at the tragedy that your community suffered in Argentina. We are very pleased to have you.

We are grateful to you that in the midst of what is an extremely difficult and trying time you decided to accept our invitation and fly up from Buenos Aires.

You may proceed any way you choose.

STATEMENT OF RUBEN BERAJA, PRESIDENT, DELEGATION OF ARGENTINE JEWISH ASSOCIATIONS (DAIA)

Mr. BERAJA. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. We know the feeling of the American people about this subject.

I thank you at first for the concerns of the subcommittee under your leadership to consider in this hearing the criminal terrorist attack that took place in my country on July 18, 1994.

Taking into consideration the very good relationship that exists between Argentina and the United States, the international repercussions of the terrorist threat, the traditional solidarity of your country with the Jewish people, and the influence that the United States has in the world, I decided to accept your invitation so that through this significant body, the Congress of the United States may commit its strong action to face such a threat.

I come as an Argentinean committed to democracy and human rights with the idea of peace and harmony without prejudice or discrimination. As such and as a Jew, I preside over DAIA, the representative organization of the Argentinean Jewish institutions, and an affiliate of the World Jewish Congress.

But I am convinced that I don't speak only for myself nor only for the organization I represent, but on behalf of millions of fellow Argentinians of various beliefs and ideologies who share the condemnation of terror who are committed with life, freedom and the rule of law.

Please see me also as another survivor of the attack—and this should be taken literally—because our DAIA offices were located in the same AMIA building that was totally destroyed.

Before addressing in depth our issue, I wish to pay heartfelt tribute to the memory of the martyrs of July 18, to offer a prayer for the recovery of the wounded and comfort to the bereaved families.

Mr. LANTOS. If I may stop you for a moment. I understand that there are still a number of individuals whose bodies have not yet been recovered and unfortunately it is a realistic assumption that they have also perished.

Mr. BERAJA. Yes.

Mr. LANTOS. Adding the number of confirmed dead to the number who are missing and, under this set of circumstances, presumed dead, how many individuals will have died in this terrorist attack?

Mr. BERAJA. 104.

Mr. LANTOS. 104.

How many of those are children?

Mr. BERAJA. Seven are children.

Mr. LANTOS. What are the ages approximately of the seven children?

Mr. BERAJA. Six, 8, and 12; also some young people, teenagers also.

Mr. LANTOS. So a 6-year-old is the youngest victim?

Mr. BERAJA. Yes.

Mr. LANTOS. And how many women in the group?

Mr. BERAJA. I don't have exactly the numbers at this time, but there are a lot of women, a lot of young women, mothers and many, many also, all the women—and the family also were in this attack.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you.

Please go ahead.

Mr. BERAJA. At the same time, I wish to point out before the world that millions of Argentinians, charitable institutions, dignitaries of the various religious beliefs, political parties, labor unions, professional associations, the Armed Forces, artists, intellectuals, students and all governmental powers, led by President Menem, shared the anguish and pain in a public rally that constituted an example of brotherhood and solidarity that honor the Argentinean people.

Similarly, I wish to point out the devoted effort of the security forces, of the rescuers and medical personnel, as well as the thousands of anonymous volunteers that worked without dismay in the midst of so much destruction.

The sounds of the murderous explosions have ceased, but not its sequels.

Among them, I wish to underscore the fear generated in vast sectors of the population based on their inability to understand how and why a community center can be attacked with such cruelty, a center dedicated to the common good, to religious services to social welfare and education, to promote culture and develop activities for young people.

That is the mission of the AMIA, which has just celebrated 100 years of service, being one of the most important organizations of

its kinds in the Jewish world and certainly the largest in Latin America.

Fear, the legitimate reaction of people who face a brutal and apparently uncontrollable threat, generates such undesirable and painful effects as seeing the victims of terrorism as potential threat to them, as if the victims were the criminals and generating attempts of segregation that would severely affect the principle of pluralism.

Mr. LANTOS. Let me be sure I understand.

What you are saying is that following this outrageous and heinous terrorist attack, there are some who want to separate themselves from the targets of the attack, thereby presumably protecting themselves so they will not be in the vicinity of these people?

Mr. BERAJA. That is correct.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you.

Mr. BERAJA. Although it hurts to admit it, it is true that for circles, today Argentinean Jews are considered a potential source of danger and therefore there is an attempt to create a separation between Jews and non-Jews in a reappearance of attitudes that we believed had been definitively eradicated from Argentinian society.

This constitutes a significant challenge for our society and especially for the government so as not to allow that the long struggle to eliminate all forms of discrimination and particularly anti-Semitism be frustrated.

In a climate of tension and confusion, we have witnessed expressions inspired in the anti-Semitic prejudice, including its modern version, anti-Zionism, and coming in times of such sorrow for the Jewish community. We don't minimize the potential threats and don't take it lightly.

President Carlos Menem has shared our concern and reiterated his commitment to neutralize those alarm signals. The next few weeks will allow us to evaluate with greater clarity the development of this serious issue and we will be able to draw more definite conclusions.

Mr. LANTOS. So I am clear exactly in what you are saying is, some elements of Argentine society you are suggesting are moving toward a reghettoization of the Jewish communities because they feel that if the Jewish community lives in an unsegregated manner in Argentine society as a whole, the whole of society will be in danger of similar terrorist attacks in the future?

Mr. BERAJA. Yes.

It is our hope that a downward trend that was taking place in our country vis-a-vis anti-Semitism, that allowed me to report to this same subcommittee in early February of this year, on a positive tone may be ratified without any doubt in the near future.

We trust that several measures the Argentinean Government is adopting, such as the struggle against discrimination and anti-Semitism, the active repudiation of the presence of Nazi war criminals in our country, and the initiatives that it has proposed nationally and internationally regarding the fight against terrorism, will contribute toward this goal.

The savage attack against the headquarters of AMIA and DAIA is undergoing a thorough investigation, both by the courts as well as the security and intelligence agencies, and public opinion is anx-

iously waiting for the identification and apprehension of those responsible, directly and ideologically, both coming from outside the country as well as from within it.

Mr. LANTOS. If I may stop you again, the attack against the Israeli Embassy 2½ years ago has not yet been solved; is that correct?

Mr. BERAJA. That is so.

Mr. LANTOS. There is not a single individual who has been brought to justice as a result of that dastardly attack?

Mr. BERAJA. That is true.

Mr. LANTOS. Do you think there is any merit to the speculation that one reason Argentina was selected as a site of this latest terrorist attack is because there was a failure to bring to justice the perpetrators of the earlier attack?

Mr. BERAJA. I agree. I said this in a public speech and I said why Argentina can't solve this problem, the attack of the embassy—we are the target, a new target for the terrorists.

Mr. LANTOS. Please.

Mr. BERAJA. It is necessary to indicate now as I am speaking now about this—it is necessary to indicate that to the commotion caused by this terrorist attack on the AMIA, was added the frustration for the lack of concrete results of the investigation regarding the attack suffered by the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires in 1992. Such a circumstance has special relevance today because it is a negative precedent regarding the ability of the State to punish international terrorism.

I wish to—

Mr. LANTOS. Let me just say that in this very room last Thursday, we held a hearing on the Pan Am 103 bombing which took place almost 6 years ago. Where you are seated, we had six women—mothers, and wives of victims of the Pan Am 103 terrorist attack—and they cried out in anguish about our own government's failure to take any concrete steps thus far to bring the perpetrators to justice.

The two identified perpetrators of that terrorist attack are still in Libya and the civilized world is standing by as Libya defies the civilized world's demand to extradite them for a court trial.

Argentina is not alone in appearing impotent in the eyes of the international community in dealing with international terrorism and when the State Department's representative will appear in a few minutes, I will raise this issue again, as I did with her just last Thursday.

Please go ahead.

Mr. BERAJA. I wish to underscore that it is a violation of our rule of law perpetrated on July 18 which left over 100 dead and more than 250 injured, took place in the framework of a democracy where public freedoms and human rights are highly respected, notwithstanding certain deficiencies in the system, which is in a state of transition.

Exercising those same freedoms, which obviously include freedom of the press and of expression, I had the duty of presenting the position of the Jewish community and of vast sectors of society with the President of Argentina in attendance without euphemisms and ambiguities.

I mention that speech as an example of the degree of freedom existing in my country and it is fair to acknowledge that the behavior of the government in this respect and the merits of citizens of exercising their rights without limitations, without self-censorship, without fear, all of which do not belong in a true democratic system.

I enclose a copy of that speech for the record because I believe it should be studied by this subcommittee.

Mr. LANTOS. Without objection, that speech will be included in the record.

[The text of the speech appears in the appendix.]

Mr. BERAJA. The legitimate demands presented in that speech have found a positive echo in the government, which among others has implemented a series of security measures to protect Jewish institutions by enforcing those in existence up to now and promised complementary actions within the framework of defense and foreign relations policy.

With reference to the resolution adopted by the Security Council of the United Nations at the request of the Argentine Government, we are not satisfied because such resolution makes no reference—for political motivations—to the fact that the attack was against the center of Argentinean Jewish life.

It must be clear that we have not yet satisfied all our aspirations, nor are we making any compromise in our strong demands to obtain effective answers to our concerns.

Our nonpartisan character, our status as a nongovernmental organization, autonomous and independent by tradition and by principle, gives us the authority to fulfill this active role with a certainty that through it we are contributing to the strengthening of the democracy and defending legitimate interests of society as a whole.

With that same authority, we express before this distinguished body our call to face fundamentalist terrorism, of which Argentina—at the very heart of the Jewish community—has been the victim in this case.

We still have time to prevent indifference from allowing the development of Nazism and the crimes it committed, is not repeated in the face of an ideology that does not hide its genocidal fanaticism, its terrifying violence and total disregard for human life.

Based on what has been previously said, we consider it appropriate to request the following:

One, to the respected Congress of the United States as representatives of the people, view the terrorist attack as a highly serious example of the dangers of international terrorism, and consequently articulate legislative measures to help defeat this dangerous threat to peace and harmony among people.

Two, within the same context, we request that the initiatives recently proposed by Argentinian Foreign Minister to the Security Council of the United Nations be supported.

Three, that the United States continue to provide maximum cooperation to Argentina as requested toward the goal of finding those responsible for the criminal attack.

Four, we are also confident that the U.S. Congress will promote at the United Nations those policies that would involve the organi-

zation to seek sanctions against those member states who support or protect terrorists. With the same intent, we hope that the Group of Seven will join their efforts toward the same goals.

Five, we also respectfully request the Congress of the United States to support our forthcoming requests to the European Union, within the same goals.

Six, it is natural to suggest to the Organization of American States that added to their public condemnation of the attack, it adopts a resolution in order to work together to prevent and combat international terrorism.

The forthcoming Hemispheric Summit that will take place in December in Miami must be the opportunity, as announced by Secretary of State Mr. Warren Christopher, for the heads of state to effectively express their solidarity with victims of terrorism and adopt adequate decisions.

Mr. President, we have to face international terrorism. Everyone is a potential victim and no one has the right to remain indifferent. Democratic societies constitutes the only way of life that ensures the protection and the rights of all its citizens. As a believer, I appeal to the spiritual leaders of all faiths so that in each prayer they ask for respect, harmony and peace between all human beings.

As a descendant of immigrant Jews coming from Syria, where as in other countries of the region, Jews and Muslims coexisted in the past, I call upon them so that they do not allow those within their midst who abhor the spiritual values of their faith, committing horrible crimes under its name.

We urge them instead to join those who are actively promoting the peace process between Israel and the Arab countries for the benefit of all the peoples of the region and world peace.

Mr. Chairman, every human being has the right to enjoy the fundamental freedoms, and governments have the responsibility of ensuring them. Today we witness with great concern that one of those essential freedoms is in danger, the freedom from fear. Every one of us, to the extent of his or her responsibilities must join efforts to stop the threat of terrorism.

Argentinean society has made it very clear: We stand together against terrorism.

Thank you very much.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you very much, Mr. Beraja. That was a very moving statement.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Beraja appears in the appendix.]

Mr. LANTOS. We will begin the questioning with Congressman Gilman.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I regret the delay caused by my having to be in my district in New York earlier that morning. I commend you, Chairman Lantos, for arranging this timely hearing. We hope as a result of this hearing to get some important details and perspectives of the horrors that we have witnessed over the last few weeks with regard to international terrorism in far different parts of the globe.

I am cognizant, however, that we are now at a very early stage in the inquiry into these deadly incidents, and that speculation may outrun the eventual evidence. We won't know all the facts

until all the evidence and intelligence gathering and investigations are fully completed.

The recent terrorist incidents in Buenos Aires aboard the Panamanian commercial airline flight and in London may well be continents apart, but the results and impact are the same the world over. Innocent lives have been lost to the cowardly and deadly terrorists bombs and attacks, all intended to illegitimately influence the course of peace and human progress in the world today.

We must not surrender progress in human advancement to those who do not have the courage or even the decency to engage in legitimate debate, nor does any grievance or concern justify such deplorable and unlawful conduct against peaceful progress in the Middle East or anywhere else on the globe.

Former President Nixon a few years ago said of another cowardly and deadly terrorist incident, the Pan Am 103 bombing, "I have no single answer to the problem of terrorism," said President Nixon, "but from experience, I know that our Government's policy must be one of relentless investigation of such incidents and punishment which will fit the crime of those responsible including governments which subsidize terrorism for whatever reason."

President Nixon's advice was appropriate then for our Nation and is just as wise advice today for nations of the world, whether they are targets of this violence or not, and for all those who cherish world order and hope for peaceful and lasting solutions to all hatreds, conflicts and bitterness.

I warned the Clinton administration early in 1993 that we must not let down our guard against a threat of international terrorism both at home and abroad, witness the Trade Center bombing in February of 1993 and these latest incidents around the globe. For that reason, I opposed the proposed elimination of the high-level and visible Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism at the State Department reporting directly to the Secretary of State, and I am pleased that the Congress went along with that proposal.

Our Nation and the entire international community must maintain our guard and vigilance against the threat of today's terrorism. Today's hearing should provide us with the vivid evidence of the costs and horrors of such threats, and we welcome the opportunity for your views and the views of those of us involved in this to go on the record.

ANTITERRORISM MEASURES IN ARGENTINA FOLLOWING THE 1992 ATTACK ON THE ISRAELI EMBASSY

I do have a few questions, Mr. Chairman.

The modus operandi of the terrorists who struck 2 weeks ago in Buenos Aires is nearly identical to that used against the embassy, the Israeli Embassy in Argentina in 1992.

Can you tell us, are there steps that the Argentine Government failed to take after the 1992 attack that might have prevented this tragic reoccurrence? Was there any lapse in the security that could have been avoided? Why was no one ever arrested with regard to the 1992 embassy attack?

Mr. BERAJA. I would like to answer in Spanish and ask my assistant to translate.

Mr. GILMAN. Fine.

Would you identify yourself please?

Mr. NEUBURGER. Alfredo Neuburger, executive director of DAIA, the representative body of the Argentinean Jewish community.

I will translate for my president.

Mr. GILMAN. Please proceed.

Mr. BERAJA. Because this is a very technical and political issue and I need to be very clear.

[Through the translator]. When the bomb exploded in the Israeli Embassy in 1992, the country faced a totally unexpected phenomena. There was no previous indication or idea that international terrorism would hit in our country.

The capability and information that the intelligence services and the security forces in Argentina had before that event, this was told to us by appropriate officials, was by no means capable of having the adequate means to face this kind of threat before that attack.

After the 1992 attack, they started to study the phenomenon to deal with it, to get involved and to seek and obtain cooperation from other governments and intelligence organizations to face it.

After the attack on the embassy, the security forces implemented special protection for Jewish organizations, including the building that was destroyed 2 weeks ago, which had police personnel 24 hours a day since 1992.

And also the Jewish organizations adopted security measures within their own buildings with the knowledge of the specific authorities.

I will have to say what was lacking—and I am not referring yet to the investigation by the courts—is that there was probably inadequate evaluation of the potential danger after the attack on the embassy.

Probably nobody believed that an organization dedicated to service would be the potential objective of such a criminal attack.

Mr. GILMAN. You mentioned that there was police security provided to the embassy since 1992. Was that security in place during this incident?

Mr. BERAJA. Yes. The police personnel were there and both policemen were wounded during the attack.

Even if we had four policemen or more, it is almost impossible to stop that kind of car bomb attack. That is why we always insist that this phenomena of international terror has to be a political decision of the world to attack it in its own bases at its own origins where they can start to act against civilians.

Mr. GILMAN. How many police were assigned to the embassy?

Mr. BERAJA. According to official sources we have received, there was one policeman who was supposed to be guarding the entrance of the embassy and he was not there when the embassy was attacked in 1992.

Mr. GILMAN. That was in 1992. What about the current attack?

Mr. NEUBURGER. The current attack, there were two policemen with the patrol car close to the door of the building.

Mr. GILMAN. They were just slightly injured?

Mr. NEUBURGER. We don't have the magnitude of their injuries, but the car was parked some 90 to 100 feet from the place where the car bomb hit the building.

Mr. GILMAN. Did the car bomb hit the building near the entrance way?

Mr. NEUBURGER. Just by the entrance of the building, yes.

Mr. GILMAN. I am asking now the witness, and you are testifying.

How far from the entrance way was the car parked?

Mr. BERAJA [through the translator]. Ten to 5 meters from the main entrance of the building that was the usual place where the——

Mr. GILMAN. So that is just a few feet from the main entrance and the police car was several hundred feet away; is that what you are telling me?

Mr. NEUBURGER. Maybe I was mistaken.

Mr. GILMAN. Let the witness testify.

Mr. BERAJA [through the translator]. The patrol car of the police was parked approximately 15 meters from the entrance. The car bomb hit the building right at the entrance and went into the building, exploding inside the building. That is why the major effect was within the building and there was also, of course, extensive damage in the street.

Mr. GILMAN. I am not certain I understand that the car bomb went into the building when the car was parked outside the building and so was the police car outside the building. If there was that extensive damage to the building, how is it the police car escaped, if they were that close to the building?

Mr. BERAJA. The police car was almost totally destroyed. The policemen were not sitting necessarily inside the car. They were always standing around it, but the police car had extensive damage.

Mr. GILMAN. And then where were the policemen at the time this occurred?

Mr. BERAJA. One was in the car. One was in front of the AMIA. One was in AMIA buying something.

Mr. GILMAN. There were only two policemen assigned to this building; is that right?

Mr. BERAJA. Yes.

Mr. GILMAN. I understand that there were a number of warnings about possible attacks on this embassy. Do you have any information about that?

Mr. BERAJA. Since 1992 after the Israeli Embassy was attacked, we took as a possibility the fact that there could be attacks against Jewish organizations in the country.

In the building that was recently destroyed in December 1992, we received a telephone threat about a possible bomb and the building was evacuated without any further incident.

Mr. GILMAN. Are you aware of any warnings of the United States with regard to a possible attack on the embassy?

Mr. BERAJA. No, I don't know.

Mr. GILMAN. You are not aware of that. But there were other warnings that the Jewish community received about possible attacks by terrorists, is that what you are telling us?

Mr. BERAJA. No. We received threats, as mentioned, and some indications that there could be a danger of attacks, and since April of this year, the Argentinean police reinforced some security measures at Jewish institutions.

Mr. GILMAN. Were any of those warnings or threats turned over to the Argentine Government when you received them?

Mr. BERAJA. We permanently kept contact with the Argentinean Government, informed them of every incident regularly, and discussed appropriate measures with the government.

Mr. GILMAN. Were any barricades placed in front of the buildings as a result of these threats?

Mr. BERAJA. No, they were not.

Mr. GILMAN. Can you tell us what you know about the borders of Argentina? Are they open borders that allow pretty much freedom of access to Argentinians?

Mr. BERAJA. This is a serious problem in Argentina, the border problem. We have urged the authorities to take action in terms of a better control of those borders specifically in the northeast of the country bordering areas where we know that there are fundamentalist groups settled.

Mr. GILMAN. Have any steps been taken to try to close those borders or to make them more secure?

Mr. BERAJA. There has been no progress or solutions—I have to say that the cooperation of Brazil is essential for the objective that you have stated, and Paraguay, and we intend to pursue this with these governments.

Mr. GILMAN. One other question, Mr. Chairman.

What about the airport safety? Has there been any attempt to make the airport safety more secure?

Mr. BERAJA. There has been a change in Argentina in terms of security conception and we are urging that solutions be implemented and President Menem has committed himself to enhance and improve any needed security measures in the country.

POTENTIAL IMPACT OF ELIMINATING THE INDEPENDENT COORDINATOR FOR COUNTERTERRORISM POSITION

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, one more question of Mr. Emerson.

Last year, the State Department unsuccessfully tried to eliminate the high-level position of Independent Coordinator for Counterterrorism. In your opinion, is that the best way for our Nation to try to combat international terrorism?

Mr. EMERSON. The policy of this administration to eliminate the high-level coordinator post was a very bad decision. The operative word in fighting terrorism is coordination, and this requires someone to serve as a traffic cop, coordinating all the intelligence, policy, and security issues and not just whether airports are safe. In the end, there has to be someone who will push for effective steps to be taken against Iranian diplomats who use the diplomatic pouch to traffic in explosives or there will not be a victory against terrorism.

To the extent that there is not a high-level person in the administration willing to forcefully argue, and argue repeatedly that the administration has to adopt counterterrorism policies, because as you know, many in the State Department are articulating other interests, and counterterrorism is only one of several interests in the foreign policy, but someone needs to be pushing that point of view.

Unless there is someone pushing that point of view, there will not be an effective counterterrorism policy articulated.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you.

I would like to submit a statement submitted to me by Rabbi Avi Weiss in his position as national president of the Coalition for Jewish Concerns and Senior Rabbi of the Hebrew Institute of Riverdale.

Rabbi Weiss has just returned from Argentina after an extensive review of this terrorist incident.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. LANTOS. Without objection.

Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Rabbi Weiss appears in the appendix.]

POSSIBLE STEPS TO COUNTER INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Emerson, if you were appointed Coordinator for Counterterrorism, what steps would you advocate that have not yet been taken by our Government?

Mr. EMERSON. One of the first steps that I would do is assemble an intelligence data bank that local and international law enforcement would have available to them in monitoring the flow of people into their countries. Too often at any Consular Office around the world either belonging to the United States or other countries, someone walks in and asks for a visa and depending upon the mood of the Consular Officer or depending upon the status of their computer system or upon their ability to write a foreign-sounding name, the person requesting the visa will likely get into the United States or other countries.

Mr. LANTOS. This subcommittee held extensive hearings on how Sheik Rahman obtained the privilege of repeatedly entering the United States when, in fact, there was information available indicating that he should never be allowed into the United States. So you are right on target on that one.

Any others?

Mr. EMERSON. I would also coordinate policies regarding the use of, by foreign governments, their diplomatic facilities to either conduct surveillance overseas or actually use the diplomatic pouch for illicit purposes.

I believe the Iranian Government has consistently done this. I also believe that there are other countries that may not support directly such attacks as in Argentina, but also facilitate it, countries like Syria which is in the mid-level of countries that facilitate international terrorism because of the sovereignty they exercise over countries like Lebanon, which is the largest terrorist base in the world today.

Mr. LANTOS. What specific international steps would you recommend at this stage to diminish Iran's ability to perpetrate terrorist acts around the globe?

Mr. EMERSON. First of all, I think that had the Argentinean Government and other governments in 1992 initiated a series of severe steps, including the possible expulsion of the Iranian diplomats from Argentina, I can't say for sure, but the chances would have been reduced that they would have repeated the same act 2 years later.

I don't believe that countries in Europe are willing to take the threat seriously for various reasons. One is there are certain kinds of Faustian deals that countries conduct with Iran, which is simple: We will turn a blind eye to some of your activities as long as you don't target our civilians.

Germany for a long time turned a blind eye to Iranian terrorists on German soil in exchange for an implicit agreement that they would not attack German targets. I would strongly advocate that any regime that allows terrorists onto its soil be penalized.

The third thing I would do is to advocate a coordinated asylum policy. It is ridiculous that Canada allows certain Hizballah terrorists asylum. If you acquire asylum in Canada, you are entitled to a passport. So if you can't come in through the front door at JFK, you can come through the border up North. This problem exists in Europe as well.

ROGUE REGIMES AND MORAL SUASION

Mr. LANTOS. You mentioned the Salman Rushdie affair. It indicates a degree of shamelessness on the part of the Iranian regime which has a contract out on Rushdie's life. If a government is prepared to publicly advocate the assassination of an individual whose sole crime is that he wrote something the government does not like, what pressure in terms of moral suasion or argument do you think might be effective in applying to that government? Or is there any argument, any exposure in the arena of public affairs, that would have any impact on a government like this?

Mr. EMERSON. That is a very good point. The Rushdie affair—many tire of hearing about it, but it bears repeating. First there is a man who is in permanent hiding. No. 2—

Mr. LANTOS. He is in permanent hiding not for anything he has done, but for things he has written.

Mr. EMERSON. Yes, and he is in hiding in the West. He is not in hiding in the Middle East. The same threat has now been issued against a woman writer in Bangladesh. The fact is that the private sector in the United States and in Europe showed an extreme amount of cowardice in response to the threats by Iran and supporters about not publishing subsequent editions, about not sponsoring Rushdie. I believe the private sector took its lead from the public sector, and I don't believe the U.S. or British Government has done enough to publicly show its absolute revulsion for what has happened with Salman Rushdie.

President Clinton met with him, which was a courageous and a brave thing to do. On the other hand, a day or two later when asked at a press conference why he did, he diminished the significance of his meeting by saying he only met with him for 2 minutes.

I think this communicated to the Iranians and supporters that there was fear in the West that they have succeeded in sending a chilling signal to Americans and to Brits that if they don't toe the line on issues that the Iranians consider close to their heart, then Americans and Brits will be endangered.

I have seen this repeatedly in the United States even regarding our own media where certain issues are not raised because of the Rushdie factor, I call it, the factor that somehow there would be physical retribution in the United States or abroad because of acts

we take that are fully consistent with our Constitution and I think representative of the democracy that we have always had in this country.

Mr. LANTOS. I want to thank all three of you gentlemen for your most valuable contributions. This subcommittee will not rest until the fight against international terrorism is put on the national agenda. Your assistance in this endeavor has been most appreciated.

Thank you very much.

Our final witness this morning is Ms. Barbara Bodine, Coordinator for Counterterrorism for the Department of State. We are very pleased to have you.

You appeared before us just a few days ago in connection with the Pan Am 103 tragedy—almost 6 years old as a case, still no resolution. We are now asking you to comment on the wave of international terrorist attacks in Argentina, Panama, and the United Kingdom.

There is obviously increased security in the United States—there wasn't an individual watching television who did not see the huge garbage trucks being drawn around diplomatic facilities in New York. It is unacceptable to many of us that, as citizens of the one remaining superpower in the world, there should be an atmosphere of fear permeating this society in anticipation of terrorist attacks by extremists—Islamic thugs who have no regard for human life but are hell bent on pursuing their objectives by all means at their disposal.

You have the responsibility as Coordinator for Counterterrorism, as the point person for our Government, to deal with these issues; and we are most grateful that you agreed recently to testify twice before us.

Unfortunately, the issues warrant your coming with this degree of frequency. Your prepared statement will be entered in the record in its entirety. You may proceed in any way you choose.

STATEMENT OF BARBARA A. BODINE, COORDINATOR FOR COUNTERTERRORISM, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Ms. BODINE. Thank you.

I agree that it is totally unacceptable that any nation and any people should have to adopt the kinds of extraordinary security measures that we have here and that we have elsewhere.

And, of course, the fundamental purpose of the Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism is to work with both appropriate domestic agencies here, and with foreign governments around the world, to devise ways to both deter, resolve and, if necessary, respond to terrorism so that we can get rid of this scourge.

I do appreciate the opportunity to testify again, and while it is always a pleasure to be here, I do regret the circumstances that bring me up here twice in a week. I do want to say that I would like to take this opportunity to extend on behalf of the Secretary of State and the entire Department our deepest sympathies for all the victims of the recent terrorist attacks in Buenos Aires, London, Panama, and the unrelated, but still tragic, attacks in Madrid and Northern Ireland last Friday.

I think it is particularly tragic and ironic that these attacks occurred just as prospects for peace in the Middle East are brighter than they have been in a century. Let me assure you that the forces opposed to a comprehensive peace in the Middle East will not meet their objectives by attacks on civilians literally thousands of miles away.

In this regard, we are very deeply heartened at the recent massive demonstration by 150,000 Argentinians that took place in Buenos Aires to demonstrate their solidarity with the families of the victims and their repudiation of the bombing.

Just a few days ago we were up here discussing our response to Pan Am 103 and in many ways there are tragic parallels between that and the AMIA bombing. Just as Pan Am 103 demonstrated the callousness and savagery of international terrorism, so did the AMIA bombing. More importantly, the Pan Am 103 bombing and the similar acts of terrorism in the 1980's invigorated many states to combat terrorism through the application of the rule of law and by bringing pressure to bear on those few states that support terrorism. I trust that the AMIA bombing and the incidents that followed it will produce the same consequences for those who undertake such attacks and those governments that help make such attacks happen.

I would like to explain what the U.S. Government has done, both in the aftermath of the AMIA bombing and a similar attack in 1992 on the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires to assist the Government of Argentina in its efforts to investigate and to bring to justice those responsible for this outrage, and more importantly, to deter future attacks.

In 1992, and again following the AMIA bombing, we sent investigative and forensic personnel to Buenos Aires to provide on-the-scene assistance to their Argentine counterparts. The team included representatives from the State Department's Bureau of Diplomatic Security, the FBI, and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms. As a testament to how serious we saw this bombing and the need to provide the very best to the Argentinians to determine the cause and the perpetrators, we dispatched one of the FBI's top forensic experts, the same man who had done the forensics at the World Trade Center. I will also say that that same man was sent onward to Panama to again apply his expertise.

We do take this very seriously. In order to again help the Argentines, the forensic information has been brought back to the States. It will be processed in the FBI and ATF labs and for both, largely for continuity of evidence reasons, an Argentine expert has come along so that we can prosecute these people to the fullest.

A very important point that I think we all agree and I heard the previous panel discuss is the need for an effective exchange of intelligence. This is absolutely critical, both before and after an attack. All elements are working very closely, both within this government and with other governments affected to try to identify those responsible.

To help prevent such attacks happening in the future, we are also providing extensive training to Argentina. Among the courses that we have offered have been post-blast investigation, explosive incident countermeasures, and a terrorist interdiction seminar. We

also have a number of courses offered or planned for the future, and I have submitted a list of those for the record.

We have been deeply concerned over the past several years over the development of a Hizballah presence in Latin America. Last spring we approached a number of governments throughout that region to express our concern over the Hizballah presence. Unfortunately, I will concede that the response from many of the governments was inadequate at the time.

We are, in the wake of this most tragic bombing, reinvigorating those initiatives. My successor, as you know, will be making a trip to about six key Latin American countries to discuss both Hizballah presence, Iranian Embassy presence, and possible steps that can be taken. And as a follow-on to that, we and the Argentines will be raising it at the Summit of the Americas looking for concrete steps in terms of intelligence cooperation, law enforcement cooperation, training, and other ways that we can deal with this.

I would also like to address the issue of what group or groups might have undertaken this attack. The 1992 attack on the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires was clearly the work of Hizballah. Hizballah publicly claimed responsibility for the bombing of the embassy and when that claim was repudiated, it released a video to make sure that the world knew that it was responsible.

This bombing of the last 2 weeks demonstrates, as well as the bombing of 1992, the global reach of terrorists, their international nature, and their willingness to attack soft targets, largely because of their symbolic value.

The recent bombings, while we do not have any conclusive evidence, do bear the hallmarks of a Hizballah operation and a statement about the attacks has been made by a group using the name Ansar Al-Allah which appears to be an offshoot of Hizballah.

Mr. Chairman, while this hearing has been called to address the recent AMIA incident, it is also important that I discuss briefly the apparent bombing of a commuter plane outside of Colon, Panama. This apparent act of aviation sabotage killed 21 people, including three Americans. It is too early to conclude definitively if the objective of this attack was political in nature or perhaps a personal vendetta by a drug cartel.

It is worth noting, however, that Ansar Al-Allah, when it issued its statement regarding the AMIA bombing, also included a reference to the bombing of the aircraft in Panama, well before aviation experts had determined that the plane, in fact, had been bombed.

Just as in the case of Argentina, we are working very closely with the Panamanian authorities, and as I said, we did dispatch the same forensic expert from Argentina to Panama. The National Transportation Safety Board and the FAA have also been involved in the investigation. Because three Americans were among the casualties of this plane, the FBI is opening a case under its long-arm statute to prosecute whomever we may be able to determine was behind this.

In a related matter, I think it is worth noting another example of how far Iran will go in its reach to silence dissidents and to use violence. In June of this year, a gentleman, Mr. Moatamer and his family, fled Iran. He is a former government official in Tehran

and he and his family fled to Turkey and then managed to get to Cuba.

After arriving there, the Iranian Embassy personnel forced them onto a flight to Caracas. When they were there, they were met by other Iranian personnel who essentially kidnapped him and his family in preparation for a forced repatriation. He and his family now thankfully are safe.

The Government of Venezuela, I am pleased to state, has declared all the Iranian officials involved, as well as the Ambassador persona non grata. While this in and of itself is an interesting example of Iran's efforts, it also has a direct bearing on the current case. The Government of Argentina is investigating carefully information provided by Mr. Moatamer concerning the AMIA bombing.

Last week we also saw two additional acts of international——

Mr. LANTOS. Before you address the London bombing, let me stop you here for a minute.

Ms. BODINE. Of course.

Mr. LANTOS. The Iranian Government has issued a statement denying that Mr. Moatamer was at any time an Iranian Government official. What is our information on this matter?

Ms. BODINE. Our information is that the Iranian statement is not quite accurate, that by all the information that we have, he is a government official. I would say empirical evidence that there is something to this gentleman was the extreme lengths that the Iranian Government went to to try to get a hold of him and get him back to Iran. He clearly is of importance to the Iranian Government.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you.

Ms. BODINE. As I said, we unfortunately had two additional acts of terrorism last week, this time in London. One target was the Israeli Embassy and the other was an office of a Jewish social service agency. Remarkably, almost miraculously, no one was killed in either one of these incidents, although some 20 persons were injured.

The British, of course, have extensive experience in investigating bombings and they have not sought, nor did we offer, any technical assistance. But we do work very closely with them and we will be sharing information with them and try to see if there is a link between these bombs and the others.

Mr. Chairman, the events of the last 2 weeks demonstrate all too clearly that international terrorism remains a threat to democratic states and to their people throughout the world. At the same time, I do believe we are making progress in limiting the number of states willing to sponsor terrorism and the support they provide.

We will be doing more in this regard as Secretary Christopher described in his testimony before this subcommittee last Thursday. Efforts such as those described by the Secretary and the longstanding policy objectives and programs that we pursue to counterterrorism are the best ways, we believe, to reduce further the perils posed by terrorism. The task is neither quick nor always successful, but I want to assure you and this subcommittee of the commitment of the State Department to do all that it can to meet this goal.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Barbara A. Bodine appears in the appendix.]

IMPROVING THE U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT'S OFFICE OF COUNTERTERRORISM

Mr. LANTOS. Ms. Bodine, let me begin by asking a very broad question, which given the timing of your imminent departure as our Coordinator for Counterterrorism is an appropriate one. I want to commend you for a job very well done.

Ms. BODINE. Thank you.

Mr. LANTOS. We are all in your debt; and as you leave the Department of State, you gain a new degree of freedom because you will no longer be under instructions and you will be able to speak your own mind.

You still have a few more days when you are under instructions; but given that limitation, in what ways do you think that the Office of Counterterrorism can be made more effective and more central to the purposes that we seek, namely, to put an end to this nightmare of international terrorism?

Ms. BODINE. I would like to begin by saying that these last almost 3 years that I have been in S/CT have been probably the most interesting, if sometimes exhausting and certainly fulfilling time in my career. One of the primary reasons for that is learning what the U.S. Government has put—what assets it has put on the effort to counterterrorism over the last 10 years and the people who are a part of that effort.

There is, as you know, a standing structure, it is about 10 years old, that was developed in the mid-1980's to combat terrorism worldwide. It includes a number of elements of the executive branch, the CIA, the FBI, Justice, all of the key players that you would well imagine, and from time to time almost every other element of the government.

There is a remarkable dedication among all of those people to working their part of the problem. It is one of the places where I have seen probably less turf battles than I have ever seen in my career, and I think this is something to be noted and commended.

I think that the commitment of the Department to making sure that the role of the Coordinator, which is a very key role in this interagency process, has been confirmed by the selection of my successor who—I believe you have met him—is a senior officer of considerable experience, his name will also be going up to the Senate to be confirmed as Ambassador as well.

I think what we have is we have something that is not broken. It doesn't really need to be fixed. It does need, I think, the attention of Congress to help us fulfill some of the improvements that we would like to see.

I mentioned the other day implementing language on conventions. There are a number of elements of the CT program that require congressional appropriation and authorization, which we definitely need.

ESTABLISHING A CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE BANK

Mr. LANTOS. Well, how about this issue of a central intelligence bank?

Ms. BODINE. Yes, I did hear that. There is—as part of the inter-agency structure, there is a community counterterrorism board which includes 27 different government agencies, all of which either have sources of information that may be relevant and/or uses of the information. That information is shared. I think there is far more sharing of information than Mr. Emerson may fully appreciate.

There is certainly a great deal in improving coordination between the FBI and the Agency, and certainly the State Department has taken enormous steps in the last year to accelerate our computerization program and also to much more effectively share information within embassies.

I will be candid with you, there were times when sometimes political sections would pick up information and not always think to give it to the consular section.

Mr. LANTOS. You know, it wasn't so long ago that we had a series of hearings on the issue of the blind sheik entering and reentering the United States while inciting his designs to murder in terrorism, culminating in the World Trade Center bombing.

Can you assure us that such consular mistakes as the one in Sudan giving him his initial visa is no longer feasible?

Ms. BODINE. I can assure you that both—every effort has been made to both upgrade the facilities available to consular officers, graduating from the 1920 microfiche into the 20th century world of computers. There has also been an enormous appreciation within the consular section and other sections of the need to very carefully vet these sort of people.

I would take issue with one of the comments from the previous panel that checking names is something that is done on the whim of the consular officer and how they happen to feel that morning. There are very strict guidelines as to when and who names—whose names are supposed to be checked.

I think one of the problems that we had in Khartoum was that we had very inadequate support mechanisms. That has been taken care of. Will there never, ever, ever be a mistake? It is human nature. Has every effort been made in terms of the facilities and the training of consular officers? Yes, I do believe that has been done.

COUNTERTERRORISM: GOING AFTER THE SPONSORS OF TERRORISM

Mr. LANTOS. Now, in fighting terrorism, Ms. Bodine, we are really talking about two entirely different kinds of things. We are talking about tactical issues such as how do you prevent a suicide bomber from reaching an embassy site; and while these are very important, they really don't go to the core of the issue. And, the core of the issue is to go after the sponsoring governments.

International terrorism in 1994 is increasingly a government-sponsored activity. You have been involved with meetings at the highest councils of our government in this field. Is there a determination that you could detect to use whatever force is necessary to go to the source so that the perpetrators of international terrorism at the top level are properly brought to justice?

Ms. BODINE. The short answer is yes. You made the very proper distinction between what is technically antiterrorism, which is put-

ting up the physical barriers, and the counterterrorism, which is to prevent it.

As I stated, you know, we have three goals in our office, which is to deter, to resolve, and respond; and obviously to deter comes first, if we can keep it from happening. State sponsorship has been the hallmark of contemporary terrorism. It is what distinguishes—

Mr. LANTOS. Just for the record, will you recite for us the countries which are still on the list—

Ms. BODINE. Yes.

Mr. LANTOS [continuing]. Of countries that sponsor terrorism?

Ms. BODINE. The State-sponsored list is Iran, Iraq, Syria, Libya, North Korea, Cuba, and Sudan which was added last summer.

Mr. LANTOS. Is there any intention of removing any of these in the foreseeable future from the list?

Ms. BODINE. No, there is no intention at all of removing any of them. There have been efforts by some to get themselves removed, and we have made it very clear to them that there are a number of steps that they need to take and they have not fulfilled them.

As you know, while the Secretary has it within his discretion to put a state on the list, in order to take a state off the list, we must notify Congress and we certainly would and we would come informally before the formal process. There is no effort at all to take anyone off at this time.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you very much.

Congressman Gilman.

PLACING TIGHTER RESTRICTIONS ON GRANTING VISAS

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I too want to commend Ms. Bodine for her excellent work during her tenure in the State Department and particularly in counterterrorism, and for her recommendations with regard to the Pan Am 103 bombing which we heard last week.

Ms. Bodine, under a 1990 change in our immigration laws, unless an individual has been convicted in a full trial or we have evidence that he or she intends to commit a terrorist act within our country, the State Department has been reluctant to deny a visa to even a member of a terrorist group absent that kind of evidence.

Don't you think it is time we closed that loophole and did something about making more severe restrictions on granting a visa, even if we suspect that they are terrorists?

Ms. BODINE. As you note, a lot of this comes from the change in the immigration law in 1990 where, as—to be honest, it was an end of the cold war thing to remove mere membership from grounds of exclusion, and it ended up covering terrorist groups as well, except at that time the PLO.

We would take any information that someone is actively supporting terrorism. It doesn't actually have to be conviction, but there has to be a known record of having actively, overtly supported acts of terrorism.

The question of opening it up to mere membership in terrorist groups is something I know the Consular Bureau has looked at and reviewed, and feels that insofar as some groups have very broad concentric circles of what membership includes, that we may be

taking on a burden that would be so onerous that we could actually end up stressing our system to the point that we may not be able to find the people at the core. We need to keep our efforts focused on the core members, those that have track records, either verbal or criminal, to go after them. Tightening it is one thing. A blanket exclusion of all members is considered unwieldy and probably unnecessary.

THE NECESSITY OF HAVING AN INDEPENDENT OFFICE FOR THE COORDINATION OF COUNTERTERRORISM

Mr. GILMAN. You and I had some discourse about the need for a Coordinator for Counterterrorism. As you are about to leave office, what are your thoughts about the necessity for having an individual office for the coordination of counterterrorism?

Ms. BODINE. Well, the—I know that it is still considered an open question, that the amendment extended the independent life of S/CT for 1 year and that there will be some hearings, I understand, early in 1995.

I think what is important in considering the status of the office is to look at both who is selected for Coordinator and to look at the overall policy of the government. It is a question of focus and a question of importance, not really a question of where you fit in the bureaucracy in terms of layering.

To be honest, you could have an independent office and a very weak coordinator. You could have the coordinator within a broader bureau and if it is a strong person with the right kind of background and you have the proper attention from the administration, then they will be able to operate effectively. It is a question of intent, I think, rather than structure.

Mr. GILMAN. Well, I assume that you recognize how important the issue is.

Ms. BODINE. Yes.

THE PRIORITY OF COUNTERTERRORISM EFFORTS IN THE U.S. GOVERNMENT

Mr. GILMAN. How important the responsibility of our Government is, no matter what we do with it, I welcome your thoughts about the kind of stress that we should be giving, the priority we should be giving in our battle against counterterrorism.

Ms. BODINE. I think one of the things that has been clear, if nothing else, is the fact that we have had two hearings in almost that many days, it is a very clear high priority of the administration.

I think President Clinton has made that perfectly clear in some of his recent statements, including in the aftermath of these bombings. It was very clear in the President's statement before the U.N. General Assembly last year, almost a year ago. It is certainly of the highest priority within the Department. I know that this is an issue that is taking the Secretary's personal attention at this time and it always does.

I will state that regardless of where CT has been technically within the building, that in terms of having a hearing on the seventh floor, of having access on the seventh floor, of the issue being

taken seriously on the seventh floor, there has never been a question.

Mr. GILMAN. As you review these three incidents, the bombing in Argentina, the bombing in London, the one in Panama, did you see any common thread going through those?

Ms. BODINE. I think just simply looking at both the modus operandi, as we said, the hallmarks of Hizballah and the public statements that have been made, Buenos Aires and Panama were claimed by Ansar Al-Allah, which is a known name of one of the Hizballah subgroups, and London was claimed by the movement for the oppressed, which is a slight variation again on a known subgroup.

So I think between the question of the modus operandi and the names of—who have claimed it, we have a thread. We also have the threat that came from Fadlallah that these kind of attacks would be forthcoming and in the Ansar Al-Allah last statement following Buenos Aires in Panama, there was a threat that there was more to come. Shortly thereafter, we had London.

So I think all of the circumstantial evidence is there. We don't have any forensics right now, but we certainly have a great deal of circumstantial evidence.

WARNINGS PRIOR TO THE RECENT TERRORIST ATTACK IN ARGENTINA

Mr. GILMAN. Ms. Bodine, did you send any information to the Argentine Government of any threats that we were aware of with regard to the Jewish community or the Israeli Embassy in Argentina prior to this incident occurring?

Ms. BODINE. We were not aware of any specific threat to either one of those buildings prior to the attack. We have been discussing with the Argentine Government, at least since 1992 and the bombing of the embassy, the question of Hizballah presence.

As I said, we have undertaken a very active training program. The general issue of threat has been there and has been something we have been working on. A specific threat to either one of those, we were not aware of that. We would have shared it if we had known.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT ON THE ISSUE OF SECURITY

Mr. GILMAN. Did we make specific recommendations to the Argentine Government with regard to security, tightening up security?

Ms. BODINE. We have had a number of discussions with them on security procedures in general. As I said, both some antiterrorism and counterterrorism training, and I am quite confident that the Israeli Government and the Israeli Embassy itself is in close contact with the Argentine Government.

Mr. GILMAN. Were your recommendations pursued by the Argentine Government?

Ms. BODINE. I don't know if each of them was pursued in detail, but I do know that the Argentine Government did take it seriously. Whether or not—and apparently obviously not; they were not adequate. But we did make the recommendations. I do not know the

details of what was recommended, and I don't know the details of what was done.

Mr. GILMAN. Who made those recommendations to the Argentine Government?

Ms. BODINE. A lot of it would have come—the kind of general recommendations would have come through a number of our training courses. As I said, I think specific recommendations on security for both the Israeli Embassy and for some of the domestic organizations probably would have come from the Israeli Government, which has its own very good track record and very strong series of recommendations.

Mr. GILMAN. But you are not aware of any of these recommendations that were made?

Ms. BODINE. Not the specific ones, no.

Mr. GILMAN. Did we make any recommendations with regard to the Argentine airport?

Ms. BODINE. We have been involved with the Argentine airport. We have had some problems with it before. We are going to be taking some additional steps with the Argentine Government to try to further increase their security there.

As I said, another part that we have been looking at is the question of terrorist interdiction. We do have a major problem with an insecure area along the Argentine, Brazilian, Uruguay, and Paraguayan border. It is sort of a no-man's land, and this is an area that we have discussed with the Argentines as to how they might want to handle that as well.

Mr. GILMAN. Has the Argentine Government responded constructively to your recommendations?

Ms. BODINE. We think they have responded constructively. It is a new issue. It is something they are still working on. Two years is not a very long time, unfortunately, in getting a handle on all of these kinds of recommendations.

But we have found the Argentines cooperative. We have found them understanding. We have found them more than anxious to have any kind of help in training that we have, and they have made a very key point that obviously my successor, one of the central parts of his trip around Latin America is going to be to Argentina and the Argentines have agreed to be cosponsors with us of having terrorism added to the Summit of the Americas.

Mr. GILMAN. Does your office have a record of any recommendations that were made to the Argentine Government with regard to security, with regard to the airport, with regard to the borders?

Ms. BODINE. We would have that at the office and I would be able to get some of that for you of course.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to request that our recommendations that have been made to the Argentine Government with regard to tightening up security at both—at all three of these areas, the airport, the borders, and with regard to the embassy in the metropolitan area of Buenos Aires, that it be made a part of the record.

Mr. LANTOS. Without objection.

[The information follows:]

Training in antiterrorism security matters has been provided to the Argentine Government on a broad range of topics by the Antiterrorism Assistance Program.

Each of the specific courses presents a total concept of security for that area, and has a formal set of objectives (which might be considered recommendations) which when fully implemented provide integrated security. However, the objectives are presented generically—not identified as applying to any specific building. A list of training which has been provided, and the objectives of that training is forwarded for the record.

Ms. BODINE. I will note in the review of terrorist assistance training we have done for the Argentines, in 1992 we did do an airport security assessment and that was one of the very first things that we did put down. In fiscal year 1993 we also did an airport security management course. So this has been a part of our training, and I will get the details for you for the record.

Mr. GILMAN. Those were specific recommendations made in 1992?

Ms. BODINE. 1992 was the assessment. 1993 was the security management course.

Mr. GILMAN. Recommendations were made about——

Ms. BODINE. Recommendations would have been made during the course of that.

Mr. GILMAN. In 1993.

Ms. BODINE. 1992 and 1993, that is correct.

Mr. GILMAN. As part of your report to us, would you indicate which of your recommendations were followed through by the Argentine Government?

Ms. BODINE. I certainly will.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you very much, Congressman Gilman.

Ms. Bodine, as a final word, may I just wish you the very best in your new endeavors. We will miss your appearances before this subcommittee, but we are deeply grateful for the outstanding work you have done.

Ms. BODINE. Thank you very much. I appreciate that.

Mr. LANTOS. This hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 12:25 p.m., the subcommittees were adjourned.]

APPENDIX

Opening Statement
Hon. Tom Lantos, Chairman

Subcommittee on International Security,
International Organizations and Human Rights

**"International Terrorism:
Buenos Aires, Panama and London"**
August 1, 1994

The Subcommittee on International Security, International Organizations and Human Rights and the Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs will come to order. Today, the Subcommittee will focus its attention on International terrorism in the aftermath of the recent outbreak of terrorist bombings in Buenos Aires, London, and possibly Panama.

On the surface these terrorist bombings appear to be new attacks against Israeli and Jewish targets — the bomb in Buenos Aires was directed against the Jewish Community Center, and it was strikingly similar to a bombing against the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires just two years ago: the two bombs in London were directed against the Israeli embassy and against a Jewish community center there. In reality, however, we are facing a new and violent upsurge in a much broader, more insidious and dangerous war against civilized societies, against democracy and pluralism, against the West.

Just a year and a half ago, one of the first series of hearings I conducted as Chairman of this subcommittee was on the bombing of the World Trade Center in New York. That terrorist attack resulted in the death of several people, the injury of hundreds, and property damage at astronomical levels.

Last Thursday, this Subcommittee held yet another hearing on the terrorist attack against an American aircraft — Pan Am Flight 103, which exploded over Lockerbie, Scotland. This terrorist atrocity resulted in the deaths of over 250 people, including 189 American citizens — Catholics, Protestants, and Jews.

The collapse of the Soviet Empire, which represented a global military threat to the civilized world, has now left the United States in a position that today there is no military force that can defeat us on the battlefield. But pain and suffering and chaos can be inflicted on the United States and on the civilized world by terrorists on the streets of our cities, in our airports, and on our aircraft.

And the horror and destruction that we have seen already are only a small part of what we could see in the future. Just a few weeks ago in this hearing room, the Subcommittee heard from the Director of Central Intelligence, James Woolsey, who testified of the potential danger of nuclear weapons falling into the hands of terrorists. Clearly the kind of people bombed who bombed the World Trade Center, and who carried out the series of bombings of the last few weeks are capable of seeking and using nuclear weapons, as well as chemical and biological weapons.

*Embassy
of the
Argentine Republic*

STATEMENT BY

THE AMBASSADOR OF ARGENTINA,

HIS EXCELLENCY RAUL GRANILLO OCAMPO,

ON THE OCCASION OF A

JOINT MEETING OF THE SUBCOMMITTEES ON

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, INTERNATIONAL

ORGANIZATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS AND ON WESTERN

HEMISPHERE AFFAIRS OF THE COMMITTEE OF FOREIGN

AFFAIRS OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON

INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM IN BUENOS AIRES,

LONDON AND PANAMA

WASHINGTON, D.C., AUGUST 1, 1994

INTRODUCTION

THANK YOU MR. CHAIRMAN. I AM HONORED TO BE HERE THIS MORNING IN RESPONSE TO YOUR INVITATION TO THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA TO MAKE A STATEMENT ON THE RECENT BOMBING IN BUENOS AIRES OF THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARGENTINE-ISRAELI MUTUAL AID ASSOCIATION (A.M.I.A.) AND THE DELEGATION OF ARGENTINE ISRAELI ASSOCIATIONS (D.A.I.A.).

MY STATEMENT WILL BE OFFERED IN THE SPIRIT OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AGAINST TERRORISM ALREADY ESTABLISHED BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS.

IN A FEW MINUTES, YOUR SUBCOMMITTEES ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS AND ON WESTERN HEMISPHERE AFFAIRS WILL CONDUCT A JOINT-HEARING TO EXAMINE RECENT INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST ATTACKS ON ISRAELI AND JEWISH INSTITUTIONS AROUND THE WORLD, INCLUDING THE ONE CARRIED OUT EXACTLY A FORTNIGHT AGO IN ARGENTINA.

YOUR WITNESSES' COMMENTS AND YOUR SUBCOMMITTEES' REPORTS WILL BE OF GREAT INTEREST TO MY GOVERNMENT AND ALSO

UNDERLINE THE TRULY INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE TERRORISTS
WILL CONFRONT IN THEIR CRIMINAL ACTS.

THE FACTS

REGARDING WHAT OCCURRED IN ARGENTINA AND HOW IT MIGHT
RELATE TO OTHER SIMILAR ATTACKS, LET ME FIRST RECALL THAT
ON MONDAY, JULY 18TH, AT 09:57 A.M. BUENOS AIRES, CAPITAL
AND MAJOR CITY OF ARGENTINA, WAS STRUCK BY INTERNATIONAL
TERRORISM.

THE A.M.I.A./D.A.I.A. BOMBING HAS BEEN CONSIDERED THE
MOST IMPORTANT TERRORIST INCIDENT IN ARGENTINE HISTORY
AND THE MOST SERIOUS ATTACK ON A JEWISH COMMUNITY
ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD SINCE WORLD WAR II, LEAVING 82
PEOPLE DEAD, 227 INJURED AND 15 MISSING. AMONGST THEM WE
COUNT THE POLICE DETACHMENT ON DUTY AT THE BUILDING.

THIS ACT OF VIOLENCE ALSO DESTROYED A.M.I.A.'S
TRADITIONAL SEVEN-STORY BUILDING AND THE MANY DOCUMENTS
IT CONTAINED BEARING TESTIMONY TO MORE THAN A CENTURY OF

JEWISH LIFE IN ARGENTINA. IT ALSO SERIOUSLY DAMAGED THE NEIGHBORHOOD.

INITIAL EVALUATIONS INDICATE THAT A VAN CARRYING A DIRECTIONAL CHARGE HIT THE FRONT OF THE CONCRETE AND BRICK BUILDING. AS IT COLLAPSED, THE REST OF THE STRUCTURE FELL WITH IT. THE FACT THAT THE FOUNDATIONS REMAINED IN PLACE PROVES THAT THE EXPLOSION CAME FROM OUTSIDE THE BUILDING.

THE EXACT SIZE OF THE CHARGE IS DIFFICULT TO DETERMINE. EVEN A RELATIVELY SMALL ONE WOULD HAVE CAUSED THE BUILDING TO FALL. HOWEVER, EVALUATION OF COLLATERAL DAMAGE HAS ALLOWED EXPERTS TO DETERMINE THAT NO LESS THAN 660 POUNDS OF EXPLOSIVES WERE USED. DAMAGE TO ADJACENT BUILDINGS CONFIRMED THIS, JUST AS THE SHRAPNEL DISPERSAL PATTERN CONFIRMED THE USE OF A CAR-BOMB.

THIS WAS THE SECOND SUCH BOMBING ATTACK IN ARGENTINA. AT 02:40 P.M., ON MARCH 17, 1992, THE ISRAELI EMBASSY IN BUENOS AIRES WAS DESTROYED. ALTHOUGH ONE WAS DIRECTED AGAINST THE MISSION OF A FOREIGN GOVERNMENT AND THE OTHER

AGAINST AN ARGENTINE INSTITUTION, BOTH BOMBINGS WERE MOST PROBABLY INSPIRED BY POLITICAL MOTIVATIONS ORIGINATED IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

THE EMBASSY BUILDING COLLAPSED, BURYING DIPLOMATIC PERSONNEL AND VISITORS INSIDE THE PREMISES AND LEAVING, AT FINAL COUNT, 28 DEAD AND 252 INJURED.

A CAR-BOMB WITH AN ESTIMATED 1,320 POUNDS OF EXPLOSIVES WAS USED. THE PICK-UP TRUCK'S WRECKAGE WAS CRUCIAL IN CONTRIBUTING TO THE EARLY STAGES OF THE INVESTIGATION.

FROM LEBANON, THE HEZBOLLAH TERRORIST ORGANIZATION CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS BOMBING, OFFERING AS PROOF OF ITS INVOLVEMENT AN INTELLIGENCE VIDEO IT HAD MADE OF THE EMBASSY PRIOR TO THE ATTACK.

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION WAS IMMEDIATELY ESTABLISHED FOR THE INVESTIGATION OF THE EMBASSY BOMBING. THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL WERE PARTICULARLY ACTIVE IN THIS RESPECT. NEVERTHELESS, OUR JOINT INVESTIGATIVE EFFORTS HAVE YET TO PRODUCE FINAL RESULTS. ACTUALLY,

INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE SHOWS THAT FINDING THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR TERRORIST ACTIONS IS NOT A QUICK OR EASY MATTER.

FOR EXAMPLE, THE DECEMBER 1988 PAN-AM FLIGHT 103 TRAGEDY OVER LOCKERBIE WAS ONLY RESOLVED TOWARD THE END OF 1991. A SIMILAR PERIOD WAS REQUIRED IN THE CASE OF THE FRENCH U.T.A. DC-10 BOMBING OF 1989 WHICH WAS NOT ATTRIBUTED TO LIBYANS UNTIL 1991. TERRORIST ATTEMPTS IN FRANCE DURING 1985-1986 WERE FINALLY FOUND IN 1990 TO BE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF SHIITE FUNDAMENTALISTS. IN OTHER CASES, IT PROVED IMPOSSIBLE TO IDENTIFY THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR TERRORIST ACTS DESPITE INTENSE INVESTIGATIVE EFFORTS.

DESPITE THE DELAYS, OUR RESOLVE TO INVESTIGATE THESE CRIMINAL ACTS AND DISCOVER THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THEM WILL NOT DIMINISH.

THE AFTERMATH

THE A.M.I.A. BUILDING HAD BEEN A POINT OF REFERENCE FOR GENERATIONS OF ARGENTINES WHO VALUED THE ROLE PLAYED BY JEWS IN OUR HISTORY AND IN FORMING OUR WAY OF LIFE.

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF OUR NATION OF IMMIGRANTS, WHERE PEOPLE OF DIFFERENT ORIGINS SHARE SIMILAR VALUES AND COMMON GOALS. THUS, THE A.M.I.A. BOMBING AROUSED DEEP FEELINGS OF SORROW AND ANGER IN ARGENTINA. INDIGNATION MOUNTED AS MEDIA REPORTS BROUGHT HOME ITS MAGNITUDE.

MY GOVERNMENT IMMEDIATELY AND STRONGLY CONDEMNED THIS CRIMINAL ACT, AND CONSIDERED IT AN AFFRONT TO THE NATION, THE JEWISH COMMUNITY AND CIVILIZED SOCIETY AS A WHOLE. THREE NATIONAL DAYS OF MOURNING WERE FOLLOWED BY A JOINT MEETING OF CONGRESS TO WHICH ALL POLITICAL PARTIES, SEVERAL NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS WERE INVITED.

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES IN ARGENTINA ARE HOLDING HEARINGS TO ACHIEVE INSIGHT ON THE MATTER. LAST WEEK, THE FOREIGN MINISTER EXPLAINED THE SITUATION FROM THE FOREIGN POLICY POINT OF VIEW. THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR IS EXPECTED TO APPEAR BEFORE THEM IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS.

AT A MORE POPULAR LEVEL, I CAN THINK OF NO BETTER EXPRESSION OF PUBLIC SENTIMENT TOWARDS THE BOMBING THAN THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND PEOPLE WHO GATHERED ON THE STREETS OF BUENOS AIRES IN A MASS DEMONSTRATION TO CONDEMN THE ATTACK.

ARGENTINE REACTION

MY GOVERNMENT HAS REACTED VIGOROUSLY IN PURSUIT OF THOSE RESPONSIBLE AND IN RELIEF OF THE VICTIMS AND THEIR FAMILIES.

BORDERS WERE ORDERED CLOSED BY THE PRESIDENT ON THE DAY OF THE BOMBING. REINFORCED IMMIGRATION CONTROLS ALLOWED CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS TO BE DETAINED.

SINCE THE ATTACK, ROUTINE POLICE PROTECTION TO JEWISH SCHOOLS, SYNAGOGUES AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS HAS BEEN SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASED.

FEDERAL JUDGE JUAN JOSE GALEANO IS IN CHARGE OF THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION, AND HAS BEEN WORKING WITH THE ADMINISTRATION AND SECURITY FORCES TO CAPTURE THOSE RESPONSIBLE. IN THE CONTEXT OF HIS INVESTIGATION, JUDGE GALEANO TRAVELED TO VENEZUELA TO RECEIVE STATEMENTS FROM AN IRANIAN CITIZEN WHO WAS SAID TO POSSES INFORMATION.

IN THE DIPLOMATIC FIELD, AND IN ORDER TO RECEIVE FIRST-HAND REPORTS, OUR AMBASSADORS IN BEIRUT AND TEHERAN HAVE BEEN CALLED TO BUENOS AIRES. WE HAVE ALSO REQUESTED INFORMATION FROM THE LEBANESE AND IRANIAN GOVERNMENTS REGARDING HEZBOLLAH SPONSORED ORGANIZATIONS THAT CAN BE FOUND IN THOSE COUNTRIES. MORE SPECIFICALLY, THE IRANIAN AMBASSADOR IN ARGENTINA HAS BEEN CALLED SEVERAL TIMES IN THE LAST FEW DAYS TO MEET WITH FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS.

A SPECIAL COMMITTEE HAS ALSO BEEN ESTABLISHED, LINKING THE POLICE WITH JEWISH INSTITUTIONS IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN PERMANENT CONTACT WITH THEM AND WITH THE NEIGHBORHOOD DAMAGED BY THE BOMB.

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS HAVE MADE THEMSELVES AVAILABLE TO ISRAELI ENVOYS AND ARGENTINE AND FOREIGN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS, WHOSE REPRESENTATIVES WENT TO BUENOS AIRES TO OFFER SUPPORT AND GATHER INFORMATION. MEETINGS WITH THE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF HIS CABINET TOOK PLACE IN THIS CONTEXT.

DURING THEIR MEETINGS, PRESIDENT MENEM RECALLED HIS STATEMENTS ON THE ATTACK, THE OPENNESS AND SOLIDARITY OF THE ARGENTINE PEOPLE AND HIS OWN DETERMINATION TO IDENTIFY AND PUNISH THOSE RESPONSIBLE. HE ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE WILL BE EXTENDED TO THE FAMILIES OF THE VICTIMS AND THAT A REQUEST FOR AID IN REBUILDING THE A.M.I.A./D.A.I.A. HEADQUARTERS WOULD RECEIVE FAVORABLE CONSIDERATION.

HERE, IN THE UNITED STATES, MY EMBASSY AND ALL OUR CONSULATES HAVE BEEN IN CONSTANT CONTACT WITH THE MANY INDIVIDUALS AND AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS THAT CAME FORWARD AT THIS MOMENT.

ANTI-SEMITISM

NOTWITHSTANDING THE GENERALIZED CONVICTION THAT THE MOTIVES AND INSPIRATION FOR THE BOMBING ARE RELATED TO THE MIDDLE EAST, REPUTED EXISTENCE OF ANTI-SEMITISM IN ARGENTINA HAS BEEN MENTIONED IN ITS REGARD. IF ANYTHING, THE BOMBING HAS INSPIRED ARGENTINA TO CLOSE RANKS ONCE AGAIN WITH ITS JEWISH COMMUNITY.

IN FACT, A SURVEY CONDUCTED FOR THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE AND THE DELEGATION OF ARGENTINE ISRAELI ASSOCIATIONS¹ SHOWS A CONSIDERABLE TENDENCY TOWARDS ETHNIC, RELIGIOUS, AND CULTURAL PLURALISM IN ARGENTINE SOCIETY. IT ALSO INDICATES THAT, ON THE WHOLE, THERE IS A POSITIVE ORIENTATION TOWARD JEWS AND SIGNIFICANT

¹ ATTITUDES TOWARDS JEWS IN ARGENTINA: A PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY. CONDUCTED BY THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE AND DELEGACION DE ASOCIACIONES ISRAELITAS ARGENTINAS NOVEMBER 12-DECEMBER 3, 1992.

TOLERANCE IN ACCEPTING THE VARIOUS ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS GROUPS THAT MAKE UP THE COUNTRY. IT DEMONSTRATES FURTHER THAT MARKEDLY DISCRIMINATORY ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWS AND OTHERS ARE NOT FOUND IN THE AREAS OF SOCIAL AND FAMILIAL INTERACTION. IT ALSO SHOWS THAT 69% OF ARGENTINES POLLED PREFERRED TO LIVE IN A MULTIRACIAL, CULTURALLY DIVERSE AND RELIGIOUSLY FREE SOCIETY.

RULE OF LAW

TO THOSE WHO SUGGESTED THAT AN APPROPRIATE RESPONSE TO TERRORISM CAN BE FOUND IN SETTING ASIDE THE LAW, I MUST ANSWER EMPHATICALLY THAT OUR RECENT HISTORY HAS SHOWN US, IN AN UNFORTUNATE WAY, THAT VIOLENCE ONLY GENERATES MORE VIOLENCE.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DEMOCRACY IN ARGENTINA OVER A DECADE AGO ALSO BROUGHT ABOUT THE REPLACEMENT OF A REPRESSIVE SECURITY APPARATUS BY AN INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY IMBUED WITH THE CONCEPT OF THE RULE OF LAW.

COUNTRIES SUCH AS MINE, WHICH ENJOY DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED WITH THE WELL-BEING OF THEIR PEOPLE, WILL CONTINUE TO RESPECT LEGAL PROCEDURES IN THEIR PERSECUTION OF VIOLENT TERRORIST ACTS.

MY GOVERNMENT IS COMMITTED TO SECURING ITS PEOPLE'S DESIRE TO PRESERVE FREEDOM, TOLERANCE AND DEMOCRACY. AT THE SAME TIME IT WILL NOT REST UNTIL THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE BOMBINGS ARE BROUGHT TO JUSTICE.

INTERNATIONAL CONNECTIONS

THE DAY FOLLOWING THE ATTACK IN ARGENTINA, A PLANE CARRYING NUMEROUS JEWISH PASSENGERS BLEW UP IN FLIGHT OVER PANAMA. A FEW DAYS LATER, BOMBS DESTROYED THE ISRAELI EMBASSY IN LONDON AND WERE SET OFF IN FRONT OF A BUILDING HOUSING BRITISH JEWISH INSTITUTIONS.

DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO WASHINGTON, THE PRIME MINISTER OF ISRAEL, YITZHAK RABIN, SAID IN A WHITE HOUSE NEWS CONFERENCE THAT IT WAS REASONABLE TO ASSUME THAT

TERRORIST BOMBINGS OF JEWISH TARGETS IN BUENOS AIRES AND LONDON WERE THE WORK OF MUSLIM EXTREMISTS. IN ANOTHER INTERVIEW, HE ADDED THAT ISLAMIC TERRORIST MOVEMENTS ARE DETERMINED TO UNDERMINE THE ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE PROCESS. HE ADDED THAT THE WORLD WAS FACING A WAVE OF EXTREME ISLAMIC RADICAL TERRORIST MOVEMENTS WITH INFRASTRUCTURE ALL OVER THE WORLD.

KING HUSSEIN OF JORDAN ALSO DENOUNCED THE PEOPLE BEHIND THESE ATTACKS, CALLING THEM ENEMIES OF HOPE, ENEMIES OF WHAT SHOULD BE NORMAL AMONG PEOPLE.

A MEMBER OF THE ISRAELI PARLIAMENT CONSIDERED THAT THE ATTACK AGAINST A.M.I.A./D.A.I.A. WAS APPARENTLY A RETALIATION FOR ISRAEL'S BOMBING OF A HEZBOLLAH TRAINING BASE, LAST JUNE 2, AND ITS KIDNAPPING OF A SHIITE-MUSLIM LEADER IN LEBANON, ON MAY 21.

BOTH MR. RABIN AND MR. ARAFAT HAVE SEPARATELY MENTIONED THAT THE LEBANESE HEZBOLLAH IS BEHIND THE A.M.I.A. / D.A.I.A. BOMBING.

MY COUNTRY'S RENEWED PARTICIPATION IN MULTILATERAL EFFORTS TO RESPOND TO SITUATIONS THAT THREATEN INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY HAS BEEN PERCEIVED AS EXPOSING IT TO A HIGHER LEVEL OF TERRORIST AGGRESSION. HOWEVER OUR FOREIGN POLICY WILL NOT BE ALTERED. ARGENTINA, WILL CONTINUE TO BE POSITIVELY INVOLVED IN WORLD AFFAIRS AND UNITED NATIONS PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS.

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

MY GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS THAT THE WORLD IS NOW ENCOUNTERING A NEW DIMENSION OF TERRORISM WITH INCREASED LEVELS OF SOPHISTICATION, AND THAT OUR ABILITY TO ANTICIPATE ITS ATTACKS MUST BE ENHANCED.

IN ORDER TO BETTER DEAL WITH THE INTERNATIONAL DIMENSION OF TERRORISM, ARGENTINE INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES HAVE INCREASED COOPERATION WITH THOSE OF OTHER FRIENDLY NATIONS.

LET ME TAKE A MOMENT TO RECALL THAT IN 1983 THE U.S. CONGRESS AUTHORIZED THE ANTI-TERRORISM ASSISTANCE PROGRAM, A MAJOR INITIATIVE TO FIGHT INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM. AMERICAN ASSISTANCE HAS SINCE BEEN EXTENDED TO ARGENTINA FOR THE TRAINING OF GOVERNMENT LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS.

IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE BOMBING, WE RECEIVED FURTHER OFFERS OF COOPERATION FROM THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, WHICH I WAS INSTRUCTED TO ACCEPT. TECHNICAL DETAILS OF THIS OFFER HAVE BEEN WORKED OUT DIRECTLY BETWEEN THE ARGENTINE AND AMERICAN AGENCIES INVOLVED.

ADDITIONALLY, TWENTY-FOUR HOURS AFTER THE EXPLOSION, A SPECIALIZED ISRAELI RESCUE TEAM ARRIVED IN BUENOS AIRES TO HELP IN THE SEARCH FOR SURVIVORS. FURTHER COOPERATION BETWEEN THE INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES OF ARGENTINA, ISRAEL, THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER NATIONS WAS ALSO QUICKLY ESTABLISHED.

THUS, RESULTS FROM THE INVESTIGATION WILL ALSO COME FROM AN INTERNATIONAL EFFORT THAT IS CONTRIBUTING TO BUILD THE ARGENTINE PROSECUTORS' CASE.

DIPLOMATIC ACTION

AFTER THE BOMBING, MANY NATIONS CAME FORWARD WITH STATEMENTS REJECTING THE CRUEL ATTACK AGAINST THE A.M.I.A./D.A.I.A. BUILDING.

PRESIDENT CLINTON WAS AMONG THE FIRST TO REACT. HE CALLED IT COWARDLY AND SAID THAT THIS TERRIBLE LOSS OF INNOCENT LIVES MUST NOT DETER CIVILIZED SOCIETY FROM OPPOSING THE ENEMIES OF PEACE.

RESPONDING TO AN ARGENTINE REQUEST FOR AN EXTRAORDINARY MEETING, THE PERMANENT COUNCIL OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES ISSUED A DECLARATION ON JULY 19 STATING ITS STRONGEST CONDEMNATION (OF THIS) ATTACK ON THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN ARGENTINA (WHICH) IS ALSO AN AFFRONT TO THE ENTIRE NATION AND THE CONSCIENCES OF THE PEOPLE OF THE AMERICAS.

ARGENTINA ALSO REQUESTED AND OBTAINED A MEETING OF THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL IN ORDER TO REPORT ON THE SITUATION. LAST FRIDAY, JULY 29, OUR FOREIGN MINISTER WENT TO THE U.N. TO DESCRIBE THE ATTACK AND MAKE SPECIFIC PROPOSALS REGARDING THE SCOPE OF DIPLOMATIC IMMUNITY AND THE NEED FOR U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION OF CONCRETE MEASURES TO COUNTER INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM.

HE ALSO STATED THAT ALTHOUGH WE PRESUME THAT IT RECEIVED SUPPORT FROM MARGINAL GROUPS WITHIN ARGENTINA, THE ORIGIN OF AND RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE BOMBING IS TO BE FOUND BEYOND ARGENTINA'S BORDERS.

WITH REGARDS TO THE ISRAELI EMBASSY BOMBING OF 1992, THE FOREIGN MINISTER RECALLED THAT ON MAY 28, THE SPIRITUAL LEADER OF HEZBOLLAH DECLARED THAT MUSLIM FIGHTERS HAVE REACHED ARGENTINA AND THAT, THEREFORE, WE CANNOT EXCLUDE THAT THIS ORGANIZATION IS ALSO BEHIND THE A.M.I.A./D.A.I.A. BOMBING. FINALLY HE ADDED THAT, ALTHOUGH WE ALL KNOW WHO THEY ARE, WE CANNOT YET OFFICIALLY AFFIRM THAT OTHER COUNTRIES ARE BEHIND THE BOMBING.

THE PRESENTATION OF THE ARGENTINE FOREIGN MINISTER TO THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL WAS BASED ON THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY'S RESOLUTION 44/122 OF DECEMBER 12, 1994, WHICH CONDEMNS TERRORISM AND ITS METHODS, AND URGES THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO COOPERATE IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE THREAT OF NATIONAL, REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM.

ON THE AFTERNOON OF THE SAME DAY, AND ALSO AT ARGENTINA'S REQUEST, A SECOND EXTRAORDINARY MEETING OF THE O.A.S.' PERMANENT COUNCIL HEARD A FURTHER STATEMENT BY THE ARGENTINE FOREIGN MINISTER. IN IT, HE URGED THE O.A.S. AND ITS MEMBERS TO UNDERTAKE CONCERTED ACTIONS AGAINST TERRORISM.

AFTER DEBATING, THE PERMANENT COUNCIL OF THE O.A.S. ISSUED A DECLARATION EXPRESSING ITS APPRECIATION FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION PROVIDED BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER ON THE BOMBING AND ON INVESTIGATIVE EFFORTS TO CLARIFY THIS ATROCITY. AT THE SAME TIME, THE PERMANENT COUNCIL REITERATED ITS DECLARATION OF JULY 19.

MR. CHAIRMAN:

TODAY WE ARE WAGING A WAR AGAINST IRRATIONAL VIOLENCE. THIS STRUGGLE IS NOT BETWEEN ARGENTINA AND SOME TERRORIST GROUP, BUT BETWEEN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND WORLDWIDE TERRORISM; BETWEEN THOSE WHO LOVE PEACE AND THOSE WHO PURSUE SPURIOUS OBJECTIVES WITHOUT REGARD TO THE COST IN HUMAN LIVES. WE MUST COME TOGETHER TO FIGHT THIS COMMON ENEMY.

THEREFORE, I WISH TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO CALL UPON YOUR SUBCOMMITTEES TO CONTINUE THEIR WORK IN THIS REGARD. I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO SUGGEST THAT THE U.S. CONGRESS EXTEND ITS SUPPORT TO INITIATIVES DIRECTED TOWARDS THE ENHANCEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST TERRORISM.

Statement of Steven Emerson
August 1, 1994
U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Foreign Affairs

I think it is especially appropriate that you are holding this hearing today regarding the bombings in Argentina and Great Britain. The American public needs to understand that although the bombings took place thousands of miles away and victims were foreigners, the next time we could be the target. Although the media has devoted far less attention to this carnage than it did to similar acts of religious fanatical violence earlier this year in the Middle East, the attacks in Argentina and London were no less horrific.

I believe American public policymakers must begin to understand the depth of a new problem now facing the world. The bombings were not simply an "attempt by the enemies of peace to derail the peace process" as several senior U.S. officials described the attack in Argentina. Nor were they simply the "return of Middle Eastern terrorism" as a senior British law enforcement official described the London bombings.

Rather, the bombings are part of an escalating world wide battle between radical Islamic militants and the West. The perpetrators of these bombings are not motivated by what is known as "legitimate grievances."

Radical Islamic militants see the very existence of pro-Western nations, such as Israel and Egypt, or pluralistic systems such as

democracy, or rival religions such as Judaism and Christianity and even moderate Muslims as a mortal threat to their very being. These militants see the continuation of a thousand-year conspiracy waged by the infidel to subjugate Islam. In this perspective, the West's publication of Salman Rushdie's book and the 1991 Persian Gulf War are simply extensions of the Crusader's assault on Islam.

The terrorism in the 1970's--largely attributable to Palestinian organizations--ultimately dissipated because the secular PLO compromised its maximalist goals to destroy Israel. Today, Yasser Arafat is either unwilling or unable to stop other Palestinian terrorists, but at least he has put an end to most Fatah terrorism. Clearly, a Middle East peace agreement can stop some types of terror.

But radical Islamic militants are not susceptible to the same rational persuasion. They see any accord that accepts the legitimacy of a Jewish state or the existence of pro-American regimes in Egypt or Jordan as intrinsically offensive. To these groups, there can be no compromise; it is a duel to the death with infidels and heretics. The war is without borders. Unlike the peaceful version of Jihad, these militants see and practice Jihad only as a holy war. Becoming a martyr in the cause of Jihad is just as good as killing in the cause of Jihad. In this new clash between militant Islam and its enemies, political reconciliation is inherently impossible.

In Europe, Hizbullah-Iran assassination squads have murdered scores of dissidents. In Thailand, the Israeli Embassy narrowly

missed being blown up this year by a car bomb made up of the same type of explosives that blew up the World Trade Center. In Bangladesh, a female writer has been driven into hiding, the subject of a religious death sentence for her writings perceived to be critical of the Qur'an. In Canada, several radical Islamic terrorists--including a member of Hizbullah and a member of the black Muslim Al-Fuqra group--have been recently convicted for carrying out acts of terror. In Chicago earlier this year, several Jewish schools and institutions were torched by Palestinian youths, who were part of a larger Hamas community.

Despite attempts by some to paper over the differences between radical Islam and the West, the fact remains that radical Islamic leaders see the West as engaged in a conspiracy to wipe out Islam. In this context, Israel is the Little Satan and the United States is the Great Satan. Attacks on targets like the World Trade Center last year or in Buenos Aires two weeks ago are justified--indeed mandated--as part of the holy war against the infidels. For those perpetrating such attacks, they may indeed be motivated by distinct events--such as retaliation for specific acts--but the large local support network needed to carry out such terrorism could only arise because of the widespread acceptance of radical anti-western precepts.

At the outset, it is important to point out that the overwhelming majority of the nearly one billion Muslims in the world today do not support such concepts of jihad or violence. Those

that support violence are only a very small minority and totally unrepresentative of the larger community. And as King Hussein of Jordan said the other day at a press conference at the White House, the bombings in Argentina had nothing to do with Islam. In the theological sense, he is right. Terrorism has nothing to do with mainstream Islam. Islam is an incredibly rich and peaceful religion that has given the world a wonderful legacy. But in the last half of the 20th Century, militancy and violence has everything to do with radical Islamic fundamentalism.

It would be the height of recklessness and naivete to deny that which has become a reality: In recent years, radical Islamic movements, for a variety of reasons, have proliferated not just throughout the Middle East but globally. These radical extremists have been able to set up a vast international network of supporters throughout the world, especially in the West, where they have amassed money and weapons, established recruitment centers, and even established command and control facilities. In the United States, the Gama'a Islamiya, Hizbullah, Hamas, Islamic Jihad, to name just a few, have established elaborate support systems. The same goes, in varying degrees, for Canada, Germany, France, Great Britain, Argentina and elsewhere.

Radical Islamic groups are not a monolith nor are they not controlled by an Islamic Politburo. Many of the groups act independently of one another, yet often collaborate in various operations as a means of carrying out attacks on their common enemies. If there is one unifying factor among the myriad groups, it is the common enemy they confront. Because of the decentralized

structure of these groups and their ad hoc collaboration--above and beyond the constitutional limits of democracies to take preventive action--the West faces serious challenges in the years ahead.

Although there is no one nation or organization that directs radical Islamic groups, Iran plays a pivotal role. In giving birth to the first modern Islamic republic, Iran has provided ideological and religious sustenance to ideological comrades around the world in its war with the Great Satan. As a microcosm of the larger splintered radical Islamic community, Iran is not controlled by any one person, and thus there are independent centers of authority running terrorist operations.

Yet, despite attempts by some American analysts to portray a jockeying for power between "moderate" and "radicals," the truth is--as we should have learned in the Iran-contra episode--there is no thing as a moderate in the Iranian government. There are, however, "pragmatists" whom we confuse as moderates. And these pragmatists, like President

Rafsanjani, readily use terror as an instrument of foreign policy whenever it is deemed convenient. Money, weapons, training, directions, sanctuary, passports, diplomatic and commercial cover--this is what Iran has provided to its network around the world--directly through its embassies, export-import companies, consular offices, and airlines and indirectly through select mosques, charitable foundations, and various Islamic centers.

According to Israeli and American intelligence, there is very little doubt that Iran was the major party behind the Argentinean bombing. The modus operandi of the attack was virtually the same one as that which blew up the Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires two years ago. That attack, based on electronic intelligence and other intelligence information, showed that the Iranian officials had coordinated the bombing against the Israeli embassy via smuggling explosives in its diplomatic pouch. The attack was carried out by a suicide bomber from a local branch of Hizbullah, which has established a wide network in Argentina, particularly in the "tri-border" area.

Beyond the virtual similarity in the two explosions, investigators on the ground say they have acquired additional evidence linking Iran and Hizbullah to the blast. Similarly, the bombing of the Israeli embassy in London could only have been carried out through a well-planned and coordinated attack; the car containing the explosives was parked adjacent to the side of the Israeli embassy where the Israeli ambassador's office is. Fortunately, he was not in it at the time; the bomb obliterated his office. Although Iran was almost certainly behind the bombing in London, intelligence officials say that there is a strong possibility that other terrorist groups collaborated in the attacks.

In the past week, Hizbullah and Iran have gone to extraordinary public lengths to deny any involvement in the bombing. But those very denials are hallmarks of Iranian and Hizbullah tactics. Indeed, Iran and Hizbullah had long publicly denied any connection to the Americas held hostage in Lebanon. Iran, Hizbullah and

their accomplice Syria--despite electronic evidence to the contrary--consistently denied any involvement in the destruction of the Marine compound in Beirut which killed 241 Marines, or the two bombings of the American diplomatic facilities in Beirut in 1983 and 1984. Iran also denied any involvement in the multiple attacks and assassinations by Iranian hit squads in the past 14 years.

In Lebanon, the 5000-man fighting force of the Hizzbollah (under the direct supervision of at least 500 Iranian Revolutionary Guards camped out in the Bekka Valley) has become an extension of Iran, enabling Iran to claim it has become a frontline battle state with Israel.

Hizbullah is organized in tightly compartmented cells, often by village, tribal or family lines. Not only does this make foreign infiltration virtually impossible; it insures that culpability is limited. Names of groups are routinely invented for new operations, then discarded to throw off the scent to intelligence agencies. During the 1980's, more than 25 different Lebanese groups were said to have been involved in the kidnapping and killing of American hostages. In truth, all the groups were simply re-named cells operating under one single umbrella organization--Hizbullah.

When the massive car bomb obliterated the building at Pasteur Street 633 in Buenos Aires, the perpetrators knew it was not housing their ostensible enemy, the Israelis, whom they have confronted in southern Lebanon and Israel proper for the past nine years. After all, if Hizbullah wanted to launch a massive

suicide car bomb against Israeli forces, it could easily have done so. Despite Israeli and South Lebanese Army patrols of the South Lebanon security zone, Hizbullah has shown that it can carry out attacks with virtual impunity.

The decision to kill as many innocent Jewish civilians and residents of Argentina as possible was taken in the same manner as was the decision to bomb the World Trade Center. "We can hit you on your turf" in the very belly of the beast was the message. And like the bombing of the World Trade Center, Buenos Aires was also chosen by radical Islamic militants because of similar factors that made it easy to carry out: Radical Islamists have an extensive support infrastructure in Argentina and in neighboring countries. Hizbullah and other radicals have easy access in and out of Argentina. The Argentinean government has not effectively cracked down on Iranian diplomats who have set up surveillance operations and abused their diplomatic privileges. And Argentina has not yet clamped down on the embryonic radical neo-Nazi alignment with the radical Islamic militants.

By selecting Buenos Aires twice in two years, this also insured that everyone would know Iran and Hizbullah were behind the bombing while still enabling Iran and Hizbullah to fiercely deny any connection. Like the United States, Argentina was deemed a special target of recruitment because of the presence of so many Muslim immigrants. In the 1980's, Iran intensified its worldwide outreach program, and began providing money and sending Iranian clerics to foreign Islamic communities. The significance Buenos

Aires was accorded by Iran was indicated by the fact, as pointed out by Islamic scholar Khalid Duran, that Iran sent Ayatollah Rabbanni--one of only 40 Ayatollahs--to serve as the leader of a Shiite mosque in Buenos Aires in the mid-1980's. There have been at least a dozen special trips by Iranian and Afghan Jihad leaders to Buenos Aires to raise money and recruit volunteers for the jihad in Afghanistan and elsewhere. There were even organizational links established to Jihad organizations in the United States.

For the past decade, Iran has directed assassinations and car bombings throughout Europe and Southeast Asia. Although in some cases authorities have prosecuted those found to be involved, in just as many cases, authorities have let go known terrorists believed to have been involved rather than incur the wrath of radical Islamic militants or their Iranian backers.

According to figures compiled by European intelligence services, Iran has been responsible for killing or wounding more than 100 Iranian dissidents, foreign nationals, journalists and other designated "enemies."

To list just a handful of attacks:

*July 1991, Tokyo: The Japanese translator of Salman Rushdie's book, the Satanic Verses, was stabbed to death in Japan. His Italian counterpart was stabbed ten days earlier but survived the attack.

*August 1991, Paris: Former Iranian leader Shapur Bakhtiar, despite being under heavy French guard 24 hours a day in a safe-

house outside Paris, had his throat slit. His perpetrators were Iranians, although French intelligence soon determined that indigenous Islamic militants provided surveillance and helped carry out the operation.

*September 1992, Berlin, Germany: In the backroom of a restaurant called Mykonos, two gunmen suddenly burst in and sprayed the eight men having dinner. The guests were senior officials of the Democratic Party of Iranian Kurdistan. Four of them died on the spot. Shortly thereafter, German authorities arrested two Lebanese Hizbullah operatives who had been directly recruited to carry out this carnage. German authorities subsequently learned that an Iranian cleric named Kazem Darabi, who had been living in Germany for several years, had provided the weapons, money and safehouses for the killer. He had arranged the terrorist killings in meetings held at a Berlin mosque. Later, it was found that Darabi had arranged the killings directly under the orders of Iranian diplomats.

*1992 and 1993, Turkey: Iranian-trained hit squads killed several popular Turkish journalists, Iranian dissidents, and an Israeli security officer; and attempted to kill a leader of the Turkish Jewish community. Turkish police found that the perpetrators were trained in Teheran.

*Spring 1994, Bangkok, Thailand: A booby trapped car filled with the same type of nitrate-based explosive used in the bombing of the World Trade Center was found a short distance from the Israe-

li and American Embassies in Bangkok. The car was found hours before the bomb was set to go off. Weeks later, several Iranians were arrested by Thai police which had found links to the attempted bombing. But they were soon released.

Although Iranian officials have told western interviewers that they have had nothing to do with these strings of murders, we should listen to what they say among themselves. In an extraordinary interview on Iranian television in August 1992, Ali Fallahian, head of the Iranian Ministry of Intelligence, openly took credit for the killing of opponents abroad. "Our services follow members of these groups abroad...[and have been responsible for] blows delivered to the opposition groups outside the country." Fallahian even admitted that Iran operates an extensive espionage operation in other countries, "In some countries, we have spies in the highest level of leadership."

Iran often collaborates and networks with other radical Islamic groups as well. The Islamic Palestinian group Hamas has a full-time representative in Teheran, has received millions of dollars from the Mullah regime, and has used Iran as a meeting ground for top level conferences. Iran has an even closer alliance with Palestine Islamic Jihad, a rival Palestinian fundamentalist organization. Fat'hi Shiqaqi, head of one of six Islamic Jihad factions, has openly admitted accepting funds and receiving training from Iran in his war against the "Western-Zionist-Crusaders." In 1993, Sheik Shiqaqi openly advocated that Iran resume

its abduction of American hostages. In fact, it is Shigaqi who has openly talked about the impending clash of civilizations between the Satanic West and Islam. In his view, every Muslim has an obligation to carry out Sheik Ayatollah Khoumeni's fatwa that the "Zionist entity" be destroyed, and that Israel's existence is only the extension of the United States conspiracy against Islam.

Israel has already declared it will avenge the attacks in Buenos Aires and London. Already in Israel, a new debate has emerged about whether to revive the type of covert intelligence hit squads that sought to avenge the planners of the notorious Munich massacre in 1972. But Israel cannot be the only country on whose shoulders the responsibility of deterring this types of attacks. Moreover, it is all but guaranteed that no matter what Israel does, it will not be able to shut down the world wide network of radical Islamic terror alone.

Such a resolution, if at all possible, can only come about through the offices of the United States. Last week, Secretary of State Warren Christopher told this body that Hizbullah and Iran "must be contained." He articulated a criticism of those countries that continue to engage in commercial trade relations with Iran.

But isolating Iran is still not enough. Hizbullah today operates under the full protection of Syria. In fact, all of Hizbullah's main training bases are located in the Bekka Valley, under the total sovereignty of Syria. Much of Hizbullah's weapons are

sent through Damascus by air and then by truck convoy through Syrian military lines. Syria uses Hizbullah to attack Israeli targets in the south as an appendage of its foreign policy: Syria believes such attacks place pressure on Israel while giving Syria plausible deniability that it is involved in terror. The charade works because the West goes along with it.

Today, Lebanon is the largest geographic terrorist base in the world, thanks to Syria. Although there is no evidence that Syria approves of or is aware of the attacks in Argentina or Great Britain, Syrian complicity cannot be removed in the same way that Israeli complicity could not be removed from the massacre of Palestinians by Phalangist squads in Sabra and Chatilla in 1982. As the guarantor of Lebanon, Syria cannot avoid responsibility for the operations of a terror group it sustains and protects.

Ironically, it is the United States itself where many of the groups have established political and financial headquarters. According to law enforcement and intelligence officials, most Middle East terror organizations and radical Islamic militant groups have established an extensive presence--and in some cases their political headquarters--right here in the United States. For the most part, many of these groups have not carried out terror attacks on American soil for fear of spoiling what has become a political safehaven. They use the United States to raise millions of dollars, organize politically, and even command military operations in their native lands by remote control.

On the other hand, the intensity of the fierce anti-Western

and anti-American ideology of these radical Islamic groups increasingly conflicts with their short-term pragmatic considerations. Hence the bombing of the World Trade Center. Despite the freedom afforded those who were living here, in the end it was that very freedom that was despised. It is this paradox that we in the West will have to confront.

Some Western security officials with whom I have recently spoken believe the bombing of the Jewish and Israeli targets in London and Buenos Aires can be "contained" to Jewish and Israeli targets. Not only is such a distinction invidious, it is only a matter of time before the ideology driving these attacks escalates into attacks on "non-Middle East" targets.

As I said earlier: The notion that "peace" in the Middle East will assuage radical Islamic groups or that some form of Western reconciliation is possible with radical Islamic groups is woefully mistaken. Hizbullah's and Iran's argument with Israel is not over specific Israeli acts. Contrary to the point raised by a distinguished columnist in the New York Times last week, the terrorist causes of the bombings in Argentina and England cannot be rationally solved anymore than the death threat against Salman Rushdie can be resolved by appeasing the radical fundamentalists making the threat.

These bombings should finally force the West to wake up to the new battlefield it is facing--an era of unalterably violent anti-western, anti-Jewish, anti-Christian rage and anti moderate

Muslim rage. Coupled with the bombing of the World Trade Center last year, these bombings show that radical Islamic militants have now taken their battle from their homelands into the heart of enemy territory--the West.

It will require concerted action by all countries to coordinate their intelligence, asylum, security procedures, and immigration policies to protect civilians from increasingly becoming the new frontline in the unfolding wave of terrorism.

**PRESENTATION BY DR. RUBEN BERAJA, PRESIDENT OF THE D.A.I.A.,
DELEGATION OF ARGENTINE JEWISH ASSOCIATIONS
SUB-COMMITTEE OF HUMAN RIGHTS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D.C., AUGUST 1, 1994**

Mr. Chairman:

I

I thank you for the concern of the Sub-committee under your leadership, to consider in this hearing the criminal terrorist attack that took place in my country on July 18, 1994.

Taking into consideration the very good relationship existing between Argentina and the United States, the international repercussions of the terrorist threat, the traditional solidarity of your country with the Jewish people, and the influence that the United States has in the world, I have decided to accept your invitation so that through this significant body, the Congress of the United States may commit its strong action to face such a threat.

I come as an Argentinean committed to democracy and human rights, with the ideals of peace and harmony, without prejudice or discrimination. As such and as a Jew, I preside D.A.I.A., the representative organization of the Argentinean Jewish institutions, and an affiliate of the World Jewish Congress.

But I am convinced that I do not speak only for myself, nor only for the organization I represent, but on behalf of millions of fellow Argentineans of various beliefs and ideologies, who share the condemnation of terror, who are committed with life, freedom and the rule of law.

Please see me also as another survivor of the attack, and this should be taken literally, because our D.A.I.A. offices were located in the same A.M.I.A. building that was totally destroyed.

II

Before addressing in depth our issue I wish to pay heartfelt tribute to the memory of the martyrs of July 18, to offer a prayer for the recovery of the wounded and comfort to the bereaved families.

At the same time I wish to point out before the world that millions of Argentineans,

charitable institutions, dignitaries of the various religious beliefs, political parties, labor unions, professional associations, the Armed Forces, artists, intellectuals, students and all governmental powers shared the anguish and pain in a public rally that constituted an example of brotherhood and solidarity, that honor the Argentinean people.

Similarly, I wish to point out the devoted effort of the security forces, of the rescuers and medical personnel, as well as of the thousands of anonymous volunteers that worked without dismay in the midst of so much destruction.

III

The sounds of the murderous explosion have ceased, but not its sequels.

Among them I wish to underscore the fear generated in vast sectors of the population, based on their inability to understand how and why a community center can be attacked with such cruelty, a center dedicated to the common good, to religious services, to social welfare and education, to promote culture and develop activities for young people. That is the mission of the A.M.I.A., which has just celebrated 100 years of service, being one of the most important organizations of its kind in the Jewish world.

Fear, the legitimate reaction of people who face a brutal and apparently uncontrollable threat, generates such undesirable and painful effects as seeing the victims of terrorism as potential threat to them, as if the victims were the criminals, and generating attempts of segregation that would severely effect the principle of pluralism.

Although it hurts to admit it, it is true that for some circles, today Argentinean Jews are considered a potential source of danger, and therefore there is an attempt to create a separation between Jews and non-Jews, in a reappearance of attitudes that we believed had been definitely eradicated from Argentinean society. This constitutes a significant challenge for our society, and especially for the Government, so as not to allow that the long struggle to eliminate all forms of discrimination, and particularly anti-Semitism, be frustrated.

In a climate of tension and confusion, we have witnessed expressions inspired in the anti-Semitic prejudice, including its modern version, anti-Zionism, and coming in times of such sorrow for the Jewish community. We do not minimize the potential threat and do not take it lightly.

President, Dr. Carlos Menem has shared our concern and reiterated his commitment to neutralize those alarm signals. The next few weeks will allow us to evaluate with greater clarity the development of this serious issue and we will be able to draw more definite conclusions.

It is our hope that the downward trend that was taking place in our country vis-a-vis anti-Semitism, that allowed me to report to this same Sub-committee in early February of

this year, on a positive tone, may be ratified without any doubt in the near future. We trust that several measures the Argentinean government is adopting, such as the struggle against discrimination and anti-Semitism, the active repudiation of the presence of Nazi war criminals in our country and the initiatives that it has proposed nationally and internationally regarding the fight against terrorism, will contribute towards this goal.

IV

The savage attack against the headquarters of A.M.I.A. and D.A.I.A. is undergoing a thorough investigation, both by the courts as well as the security and intelligence agencies, and public opinion is anxiously waiting for the identification and apprehension of those responsible, directly and ideologically, both coming from outside the country as well as from within it.

It is necessary to indicate that to the commotion caused by this terrorist attack on the A.M.I.A., was added the frustration for the lack of concrete results of the investigation regarding the attack suffered by the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires, in 1992. Such a circumstance has special relevance today, because it is a negative precedent regarding the ability of the State to punish international terrorism.

V

I wish to underscore that this violation of our rule of law perpetrated on July 18, which left over 100 dead, and more than 250 injured, took place in the framework of a democracy where public freedoms and human rights are highly respected, notwithstanding certain deficiencies in the system, which is in a state of transition.

Exercising those same freedoms, which obviously include freedom of the press and of expression, I had the duty of presenting the position of the Jewish community and of vast sectors of society, with the President of Argentina in attendance, without euphemisms and ambiguities. I mention that speech as an example of the degree of freedom existing in my country, and it is fair to acknowledge the behavior of the government in this respect and the merit of the citizens of exercising their rights without limitations, without self-censorship, without fear, all of which do not belong in a true democratic system.

I enclose a copy of that speech, for the record, because I believe it should be studied by this Sub-committee.

VI

The legitimate demands presented in that speech have found a positive echo in the government, which among others has implemented a series of security measures to protect Jewish institutions, reinforcing those in existence up to now and has promised

complementary actions within the framework of defense and foreign relations policy.

With reference to the resolution adopted by the Security Council of the United Nations at the request of my government, we are not satisfied because such resolution makes no reference - for political motivations - to the fact that the attack was against the center of Argentinean Jewish life.

It must be clear that we have not satisfied all our aspirations, nor are we making any compromise in our strong demand to obtain effective answers to our concerns.

Our non-partisan character, our status as a non-governmental organization, autonomous and independent by tradition and by principle, gives us the authority to fulfill this active role with a certainty that through it we are contributing to the strengthening of democracy and defending legitimate interests of society as a whole. With that same authority, we express before this distinguished body our call to face fundamentalist terrorism, of which Argentina - at the very heart of its Jewish community - has been the victim.

We still have time to prevent indifference from allowing the development of Nazism and the crimes it committed, is not repeated in the face of an ideology that does not hide its genocidal fanaticism, its terrifying violence and total disregard for human life.

VII

Based on what has been previously said, we consider it appropriate to request the following:

1. To the respected Congress of the United States as representatives of the people, view the terrorist attack as a highly serious example of the dangers of international terrorism, and consequently articulate legislative measures to help defeat this dangerous threat to peace and harmony among peoples.
2. Within the same context, we request that the initiatives recently proposed by the Argentinean Foreign Minister to the Security Council of the United Nations be supported.
3. That the United States continue to provide maximum cooperation to Argentina, as requested, towards the goal of finding those responsible for the criminal attack.
4. We are also confident that the United States Congress will promote at the United Nations those policies that would involve the organization to seek sanctions against those member states who support or protect terrorists. With the same intent, we hope that the Group of Seven will join their efforts towards the same goals.

5. We also respectfully request the Congress of the United States to support our forthcoming requests to the European Union, within the same goals.

6. It is natural to suggest to the Organization of American States that, added to their public condemnation of the attack, it adopts resolutions in order to work together to prevent and combat international terrorism.

The forthcoming Hemispheric Summit that will take place in December in Miami, must be the opportunity - as announced by the Secretary of State, Mr. Warren Christopher - for the heads of state to effectively express their solidarity with victims of terrorism and adopt adequate decisions.

VIII

Mr. President:

We have to face international terrorism. Everyone is a potential victim, and no one has the right to remain indifferent. Democratic societies constitute the only way of life that insures the protection and the rights of all its citizens.

As a believer, I appeal to the spiritual leaders of all faiths so that in each prayer they ask for respect, harmony and peace between all human beings.

As a descendant of immigrants coming from Syria, where as in other countries of the region. Jews and Muslims coexisted in the past, I call upon them so that they do not allow those within their midst who abhor the spiritual values of their faith, committing horrible crimes under its name. We urge them, instead, to join those who are actively promoting the peace process between Israel and the Arab countries, for the benefit of all the peoples of the region and world peace.

Mr. Chairman:

Every human being has the right to enjoy the fundamental freedoms, and governments have the responsibility of ensuring them. Today we witness with great concern that one of those essential freedoms is in danger: The freedom from fear. Every one of us, to the extent of his or her responsibilities, must join efforts to stop the threat of terrorism.

Argentinean society has made it very clear: We stand together against terrorism.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH

Testimony
of
Ms. Barbara A. Bodine
Coordinator for Counterterrorism
before
the Subcommittee on
International Security, International Organizations
and Human Rights
of the
House Foreign Affairs Committee

August 1, 1994

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

Thank you for inviting the State Department to testify this morning. We deeply appreciate your continuing interest, as demonstrated through this hearing, in U.S. Government efforts to counter the threat posed by international terrorism.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to take this opportunity to extend on behalf of the Secretary of State and the entire Department our deepest sympathies to all the victims of the recent terrorist attacks in Buenos Aires, London and, Panama, as well as the attacks, albeit unrelated, in Madrid and Northern Ireland last Friday.

It is particularly tragic and ironic that the attacks in Buenos Aires, Panama and London occurred just as prospects for peace in the Middle East are brighter than they have been this century. And, let me assure you, the forces opposed to a comprehensive peace in the Middle East will not meet their objective by attacks on civilians literally thousands of miles away. In this regard, we are deeply heartened at the recent massive demonstration by 150,000 Argentines that took place in Buenos Aires to repudiate the bombing and to express solidarity with the families of the victims.

Mr. Chairman, just a few days ago you held hearings to examine again the response of this government to the Pan Am 103 bombing. In many respects, what happened at the Argentine Israeli Mutual Association (AMIA) is a tragic parallel to that terrible night over Lockerbie. Just as Pan Am 103 demonstrated the callousness and savagery of international terrorism, so too did AMIA. More importantly, the Pan Am 103 bombing--and similar acts of terrorism in the 1980s--invigorated many states to combat terrorism through the application of the rule of law and by bringing pressure to bear on those few states that support terrorism. I trust that the AMIA bombing, and the incidents that have followed it, will produce the same consequences for those who undertake such attacks and those governments that help make such attacks happen.

As you requested, I would like to explain what the U.S. Government has done, both in the aftermath of the AMIA bombing and a similar attack in 1992 on the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires, to assist the Government of Argentina in its efforts to investigate and to bring to justice those responsible for this outrage, and to deter future acts of terrorism.

- In 1992 and again after the AMIA bombing, the U.S. sent investigative and forensic personnel to Buenos Aires to provide on-the-scene assistance to their Argentine colleagues. The most recent team included representatives of the State Department's Bureau of Diplomatic Security, the FBI and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms. Included on that team in view of his special expertise was
- one of the key bomb site technicians from the World Trade Center investigation. That team has now completed its crime scene work and has returned to the U.S. As requested by Argentina, evidence collected by the team will be analyzed in FBI and ATF laboratories. An Argentine forensic specialist came back with the team to participate in these forensic studies.
- A central element in the effective international effort to prevent and counter terrorism or to bring to justice those responsible for such attacks is the effective exchange of intelligence. I wish to assure you that the U.S. intelligence community is cooperating closely and effectively with other services as part of the international effort to identify those responsible for this recent outrage.
- To help prevent such terrorist horrors, the United States has also provided extensive training through the Anti-terrorism Training Assistance program to Argentina between 1992 and now. Among the courses offered have been Post-Blast Investigation, Explosive Incident Countermeasures and a Terrorist Interdiction Seminar. Many other courses have also been offered or are scheduled, Mr. Chairman, and I would ask that the list I have prepared be made part of the Committee's record.
- The United States has also been deeply concerned over the development in Latin America of a Hizballah presence. Just this spring, we approached governments throughout the region expressing our concern over the growing Hizballah presence. Unfortunately, the responses taken to date have proven inadequate. We will, of course, be undertaking additional initiatives concerning this issue, as Secretary Christopher discussed last Thursday.

Mr. Chairman, you also asked me to address the issue of what group or groups might have undertaken this attack. Let me begin by reviewing what we know about the 1992 attack on the Israeli Embassy. That attack was clearly the work of Hizballah, the terrorist group created by Iran and which has undertaken some of the world's most repulsive acts of

terrorism, particularly hostage-taking and murder in Lebanon during the 1980s. Hizballah publicly claimed responsibility for bombing the Embassy and, when this claim was questioned by the Lebanese government, the group released a video of the Embassy taken during a surveillance operation in order to authenticate its claim.

The investigation into this most recent bombing continues, and we have not yet determined which group or groups were responsible for this attack. What we can say, however, is that this bombing demonstrates both the unfortunate global reach of terrorists, and their willingness to attack "soft" targets, chosen only because of their symbolic value. While Hizballah has denied that it bombed AMIA, this bombing certainly has the hallmarks of a Hizballah operation and a statement about the attack has been made by a group using the name Ansar Al'Allah. This appears to be an offshoot of Hizballah.

Mr. Chairman, while this hearing has been called to address the recent AMIA incident, it is also important that I discuss briefly the apparent bombing of a commuter plane outside of Colon, Panama. This apparent act of aviation sabotage killed twenty-one people, including three Americans. It is too early to conclude definitively if the objective of this attack was political in nature or perhaps just a type of personal vendetta by a drug cartel. It is worth noting, moreover, that the Ansar al'Allah, when it issued its statement regarding the AMIA bombing, also included a reference to the bombing of an aircraft in Panama. This statement was made well before aviation experts had determined that the plane had, in fact, been bombed.

Just as in the case of Argentina, the United States is cooperating closely with Panamanian authorities. Shortly after the plane crashed, the U.S. sent a team of investigators from the National Transportation Safety Board and the FAA to Panama. In addition to experts on aviation safety, the U.S.--through the FBI--is providing forensic assistance. Lastly, since this case resulted in the deaths of three Americans, this bombing is being aggressively investigated by the FBI, pursuant to U.S. "long arm" statutes.

Mr. Chairman, I would also like to comment upon one additional incident in Latin America which--while not terrorism--is certainly instructive of the lengths to which Iran will go in its efforts to silence dissent. In June of this year Manoucher Moatamer and his family fled Iran. He is a former government official in Tehran. He and his family fled to Turkey, and then managed to obtain visas for Cuba. After arriving there, Iranian embassy personnel forced them onto a flight to Caracas. When they arrived there, they were met by other Iranian official personnel who essentially kidnapped the family, in apparent preparation for a forcible repatriation to Iran. Mr. Moatamer managed to escape and notify the UNHCR of his predicament. He and his family are now, thankfully, safe. The Government of Venezuela, I am pleased to state, has

declared all of the Iranian officials involved, as well as the Ambassador, *persona non grata*. Furthermore, the Government of Argentina is investigating carefully information provided by Mr. Moatamer concerning the AMIA bombing.

The last week has also seen two additional acts of international terrorism in London. One target was the Israeli consulate, the other an office of a Jewish social services agency. Remarkably, no one was killed in either of these incidents, but there was extensive property damage and some twenty people were injured in these attacks.

The British have extensive experience in investigating bombings and have not sought U.S. technical assistance. We are, however, following closely all developments regarding these incidents. We will be coordinating closely with the British government regarding a common response to these apparent acts of state-sponsored terrorism. The two attacks in London have now been claimed in Beirut by a group calling itself "Movement of the Oppressed." The name used in the statement, as well as the means used to make the claim, suggest that the statement is both authentic and made on behalf of Hizballah.

Mr. Chairman, the events of the last two weeks demonstrate all too clearly that international terrorism remains a threat to democratic states and their people throughout the world. At the same time, I believe we are making progress in limiting both the number of states willing to sponsor terrorism and the support they provide to terrorists. And we will be doing more in this regard, as Secretary Christopher described in his testimony before this Committee just last Thursday. Efforts such as those described by the Secretary, and the longstanding policy objectives we pursue to counter terrorism, are the best way to reduce further the perils posed by terrorism. The task will be neither quick nor always successful, but I want to assure you and this Committee of the commitment of the State Department to do all that it can to meet this goal.

Thank you for this opportunity to appear before your Committee.

Statement of Rep. Gary L. Ackerman
August 1, 1994

Thank you Mr. Chairman. Permit me to commend both of you, Chairman Lantos and Chairman Toricelli, for holding this timely hearing. The recent tragedies in Argentina, Panama, and the United Kingdom are poignant reminders that the scourge of international terrorism remains with us.

The despicable events of the last two weeks are well known. The July 18 bombing of the Delegation of Argentine Israeli Organizations took the lives of ninety-six innocent people. Days later, twenty-one more were murdered when a second terrorist bomb destroyed a Panamanian commuter jet. This diabolical trend continued when less than a week ago, two car bombs exploded in London, one outside the Israeli embassy, and another outside a building that housed several Jewish organizations. Thankfully, no one was killed in the London attacks. These bombings -- the hatred that motivated them and the brutality with which they were carried out -- are sickening. Indeed, such barbarism is difficult to understand.

The motivation for these acts seems to be political. We are fortunate enough to live in a time when momentous changes are taking place in the Middle East. Just last Wednesday we witnessed what would have been unthinkable only a few years ago: the Prime Minister of Israel and the King of Jordan declared their commitment to peace. But, sadly enough, not everyone supports these great changes. Indeed, the recent acts of terror in Argentina, Panama, and the United Kingdom remind us that some extremists are willing to commit murder to undermine the peace process. They must not be allowed to succeed. We must not permit these individuals to slow, even for a moment, the progress towards lasting peace in the Middle East.

These acts are motivated by more than politics. One does not have to scratch very deeply before it becomes apparent that hatred plays a role: the very same kind of ethnic hatred that motivated the Nazis in World War II, and that today is responsible for the slaughter in Bosnia and Rwanda. Sometimes we see this kind of ethnic hatred rear its ugly head in the United States, and that is deeply troubling.

We must not be silent on the issue of terrorism. We must make it clear to everyone that this kind of violence, whether motivated by politics or by pure hatred, is unacceptable and unforgivable. We must put the terrorists on notice that their acts will be condemned and justice will be vigorously pursued. I have introduced a resolution condemning these recent attacks, expressing condolences to the families of the victims, and calling on the world community to cooperate in bringing the criminals who ordered and carried out these vicious attacks to justice, and I urge my colleagues to join me in speaking out against these crimes.

Taking swift action to condemn the terrorists is a good first step, but it is no more than a first step. Too often it seems that there is little else we can do. We must work together, along with the international community, to find new and more effective ways to combat international terrorism. For this reason I am fully supportive of the bipartisan call for an international conference on this issue advocated by my friend and colleague Tom Lantos. Thank you.



THE INTER-PARLIAMENTARY COUNCIL
AGAINST ANTISEMITISM

1 August 1994

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION

FOR THE ATTENTION OF: Congressman Tom Lantos

FROM: The Hon Greville Janner QC MP



THE INTER-PARLIAMENTARY COUNCIL
AGAINST ANTISEMITISM

We send our respectful greetings to the Honourable Congressman Tom Lantos and to our distinguished colleagues on the Congressional Foreign Affairs Committee. We much appreciated your invitation to attend to give evidence on the London terrorist bombings and much regret that we could not accept. We trust this report of the Inter-Parliamentary Council Against Antisemitism on the bomb attacks on the Israeli Embassy and Balfour House in London will be of assistance.

The facts:

At 12.10pm on Tuesday 26th July 1994 a car bomb exploded outside the Israeli Embassy in Kensington High Street, London injuring fourteen people. The driver, described as a middle aged woman of mediterranean appearance, parked the car outside a block of flats at the end of Kensington Palace Gardens, next to a wall of the Embassy.

She was approached and challenged by a private security guard and an Israeli Embassy guard, but satisfied them of her bona fide. The car bomb which contained, between 20lb and 30lb of Semtex, exploded two minutes later. The blast was heard eight miles away. The bomb shattered the windows of Kensington Palace, the home of the Princess of Wales.

- * At 1:00 am on Wednesday 27th July 1994 a small car bomb exploded outside Balfour House, in Finchley, North London. Three people were injured. Balfour House houses the Joint Israel Appeal, and a number of Jewish organisations.
- * The bomb went off at 12.46 am between police visits.
- * On Wednesday 27th a Minister from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, visited the Embassy, and condemned the bombing.

Why London?:

- * London has acquired a reputation amongst Muslim refugees who believe they have more protection here, than in other European countries, such as France, where there is more political instability, and greater fear of being deported should the political situation change. Britain has no laws against proscribing non-Irish terrorist organisations.

Security:

- * About 100 Jewish and Israeli buildings were reportedly immediately placed under armed 24 hour guard and surrounded by strict parking restrictions.
- * (1) Sir Paul Condon, Metropolitan Police Commissioner, said that Israeli agencies abroad were helping Scotland Yard with their enquiries and that there was full co-operation at every level.
- * (2) That it was impossible to identify the totality of potential targets at risk of terrorist attack, and that a top tier, band "A" set of targets had been created.
- * (3) That States such as Syria, Iran and Iraq had been involved in such sophisticated acts in the past but there was no proof that any of these were involved in either incident.
- * (4) Israeli sources have informed us that Hezbollah, Hamas or a smaller Islamic fundamentalist faction are behind the bombing.

Political reaction:

- * On 27th July, Prime Minister, John Major sent a message of support to Prime Minister Rabin in Israel and Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd wrote to the Israeli Ambassador Moshe Raviv.
- * Uzi Barram, Israel's Tourism Minister who was in London at the time of the blast, said that suicide attacks were a new feature of British terrorism though they have been used by groups such as Hezbollah for a number of years.
- * Home Office Minister, David Maclean wrote in a letter to our President Greville Janner QC MP that the Government did "not regard the banning of terrorist organisations as one of our main weapons in the struggle against terrorism."
- * Tony Blair, newly elected Leader of the Opposition, said; " I am appalled at the bombing outrages. I deplore the fact that terrorist acts are being committed against the Jewish community."
- * Jack Cunningham, Shadow Foreign Secretary, wrote to Douglas Hurd, asking him to provide, "much greater levels of surveillance and protection for the Israeli Ambassador and his staff, officers, and organisations associated with the Jewish community in London."

- * On 28th July, and after intervention by the Council, the Government announced that it was working closely with the Argentinians on a UN Security Council Presidential Statement strongly condemning terrorism and emphasising the need to strengthen international co-operation to combat it.
- * Prime Minister John Major told the Conservative Middle East Council that the "we must seek out the perpetrators and bring them to justice. It is unacceptable for any State to tolerate, let alone support, terrorism."

The Council recommends:

- * (1) On 27th July the Council asked the Prime Minister and the Home Secretary to condemn the act.
- * (2) To proscribe Hamas and any other Islamic extremist organisation associated with terror
- * (3) To impose sanctions on those countries which either commission, harbour or assist in the perpetration of such acts.
- * (4) To urge the European Union and the United Nations to impose sanctions, and to co-sponsor an urgent debate at the Security Council of the United Nations on International Terrorism.
- * The Council respectfully invites your distinguished committee to urge all nations to take those or similar steps.

UK WRITTEN STATEMENT ON BUENOS AIRES/LONDON BOMBINGS

The United Kingdom strongly condemns the recent bombings in London of the Israeli Embassy on 26 July and of Balfour House (offices of a number of Jewish Organisations) on 27 July. Fortunately there were no fatalities, though a number of people were injured and there was extensive damage to property.

We also strongly condemn the appalling bombing of the Headquarters of the Israeli Association for Mutual Assistance of Argentina in Buenos Aires on 18 July which caused the loss of so many lives and many injuries. Our sympathies and condolences go to all the victims of these despicable atrocities and their families.

The Prime Minister said on 28 July:

"We cannot yet be certain who lay behind these acts, or whether they are connected. But I want to express the repugnance of everyone here at these attacks and at all acts of terrorism - and our sympathy for the victims and the bereaved.

For terrorism is the enemy of us all. Terrorism has been directed at those who seek peace and progress in the Middle East. Terrorism is perpetrated by those who refuse to abide by the rule of law and by the principles of a civilised society.

We must seek out its perpetrators and bring them to justice. It is unacceptable for any State to tolerate, let alone support, terrorism. The international community must unite against it."

The Foreign Secretary has also expressed the Government's condemnation of these bombings.

The United Kingdom is deeply concerned about such acts of international terrorism and, as the Prime Minister has said, we are making every effort to bring the perpetrators to justice. It is important for the international community to take strong and effective measures to combat terrorism. We welcome Secretary of State Christopher's statement to the House Foreign Relations Committee on 28 July that the State Department's counter-terrorism experts would begin to look for ways to enhance international cooperation against terrorism. The UK will play its full part.

We also welcome the close cooperation we have received from allies and friends and are in close touch with the Argentine, Israeli and US authorities. Although there is yet no firm evidence of who carried out these atrocities an intense investigation is under way to try and establish who was responsible. A comprehensive review of security has also taken place and over 100 Israeli and other premises are under armed guard.

BRITISH EMBASSY
WASHINGTON



29 JULY 1994

Speech delivered by the President of D.A.I.A. , Dr. Ruben Beraja on July 21, 1994 at a public rally held in Buenos Aires.

Fellow Argentines

The brutal, criminal attack that sowed death and destruction in the center of Jewish institutional life in Argentina has brought us together in vast numbers, in spite of the untimely weather, we are here to offer a courageous and civilized albeit energetic response to this abominable crime. Terror, regardless of its origin and of the viper that engenders it, once again, has undermined public security to attack the venerable and benevolent A.M.I.A. and D.A.I.A. , to assault the Argentine Jewish Community, extending its violence to the entire Republic and its inhabitants irrespectively of their creed or sector. This is not a rhetorical statement, nor is it a compromise. These are not times for rhetoric or for empty words.

The barbaric attack perpetrated last Monday has undermined the very foundations of our National State, irrupting in full daylight, in the center of Buenos Aires, imposing its criminal law over the rule of law, disposing of the lives and the property of the Argentine people upon its vicious whim. It has fractured our domestic harmony instilling consternation and fear over public order. For this reason it is evident that although the outrage was directed against the Argentine Jewish Community it could not be consummated without first attacking the legal foundations on which our Nation is based. It could not have taken place without suppressing the moral foundation of an entire civilized society.

In response to the magnitude of the aggression it is logical that our citizenry should be present, representing all sectors. Beyond natural human solidarity inspired by the pain of our fellow human beings, we are well aware that we cannot shrug off or ignore the challenge arising from the depth of our perception, since this attack involves us all and affects us all.

The reign of terror with its criminal logic tends to install itself in those societies in which the legal order is weak, in which systems of prevention and punishment are neither efficient nor effective, and the repudiation of ~~the men and~~ women of the people is not sufficiently energetic. Under these circumstances, it is our task to define our conduct in order to put an end to these attacks. First of all, by the action of civil society which as it has done today, in an exemplary and moving manner, to such a degree that I weep, seeing you from here, from this podium

Our citizenry must unite, solidarity, in order to banish all doubts as to its repulsion of terror. Its conduct should not be guided by the fear of living near Jews but rather by the courage of fighting crime, acting from within a social fabric imbued with the ethics of civilization. The State and Institutions must face this new reality from a different perspective, with new concepts, putting defense to the service of the Republic, of the Constitution and of the People. Security is not to be interpreted merely as repression, and the administration of justice implies enforcement of the law with effective vigor.

Thus one can better understand the repeated requests that the investigation and procedures relating to the attack on the Embassy of Israel 28 months ago, lead to the establishment of responsibilities and the punishment of the guilty. This is necessary not only to punish the guilty but essentially because it implies a revalidation of the established order, that of our legal system over the system of criminal terrorism. It implies a demonstration of our capacity to react and to show to ourselves and to the world that the lives of our inhabitants and their property is not at the mercy of international terrorism but is under the protection of the Argentine Republic and its institutions. It is regrettable that in spite of the time that has elapsed an appropriate response could not be achieved.

A signal is needed, indicating to international terrorism that Argentina is not a free zone for vandalism and aggression. In this context there are many persons who ask why Buenos Aires is chosen repeatedly as the scene for this type of crime.

Personally, I believe that the aforementioned facts are a significant part of the answer. Nevertheless between questions and answers I wish to refer to a question that is brought up recurrently. Should these consequences not be attributed to Argentine policy? I answer the following:

We can agree or disagree with the policy; what no Argentine can do is to modify it merely to neutralize terrorist aggression. In this case reasoning carried to the absurd would have us admit that terrorism not only reigns in our territory affecting domestic peace, but that it also imposes upon us our foreign policy.

In facing up so clearly to a question that pertains to national politics, I do not intend to defend a given policy. That is not my role. What I demand is a new point of departure for dealing with this delicate subject.



We demand of the powers that be, as well as of the opposition, that they place above party politics, above electoral calculations and ideological intransigencies, the creation of conditions that lead to the definitive eradication of this repeated spectre of terror in our country.

Thus people will feel that the institutions are working on behalf of their legitimate interests. That those who are carrying out their mandate do it in the service of their electorate. It is clear that the government bears the heaviest portion of responsibility. It is to the government that we look in the first place with a claim for clear proposals formulated under the responsibility of true statesmen having in mind the common good no matter what the political cost.

Dear fellow countrymen, while I speak to you I see in front of me only a few meters away the faces of tormented relatives bearing photographs of those who have not yet been found. Some are familiar faces. I speak now on behalf of the leaders of the Argentine Jewish community. Our responsibility is to continue the struggle without respite. With energy. Without surcease. To accomplish results not merely in the interest of the Argentine Jewish community. Not as a simple matter of interest only of the Jews of Argentina. We believe, on the contrary, that we are lending our country a service from our battling position, from our training for the struggle, from our capacity to face suffering in order to build a better world. It is not in vain that we have travelled through 4000 years of history. 4000 years have given us many scars. But they have also given us a vision of the world that we wish to share with all our fellow Argentines. And this vision does not allow fear to prevail among us. We must not allow terrorism to win its victory by cornering us in our homes. We must prevent the cowardly aspects of the human condition to take over our being because the nobility of the Argentine condition, the courage of the men that forged our history is not marked by that trait. It is marked by the strength of men who did not renounce the fight for liberty and liberty implies enforcing the law. By making use of it with the force that was given us by our condition as a sovereign people refusing to be directed or imposed on by arbitrary force or savage models foreign to our traditions.

God will that this vast meeting which will certainly mark the history of Argentina as the tragedy that brings us together today has already marked it, serve the purpose finding us together to build a better country where solidarity among all will become a daily reality instead of being the product of misfortune. Let us be united for important things at all times and let us understand that to be a country in which justice, fairness and solidarity prevail, each one of us must fulfill his obligations. This includes all our citizens, those who are in Government and those who are not. We who are in the field assume the challenge and will fight to make it a reality. Thank you.



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